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To the Bodleian Library,
5 July, 1917, from E. S. Dodgson
who in the first half of this year
published two letters, and by the first
started a considerable discussion in
the columns of the Kirkcudbright
Advertiser, at Castle Douglas,
about Thomas Jordan, who was born
in 1690, or 91, in that shire, but
not in Kirkcudbright Town.

by Trenchard and Gordon.

A very excellent performance, nay, perhaps unparalled in its kind.

CATO's LETTERS;

OR,

ESSAYS *on* LIBERTY,

CIVIL and RELIGIOUS,

And other important SUBJECTS.

In Four VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

The FOURTH EDITION, *corrected.*

LONDON:
Printed for *W. Wilkins*, *T. Woodward*, *J. Walthoe*, and *J. Peele*. M DCC XXXVII.

BIBLIOTHEC

TO

John Milner, Eſq;

OF

Great RUSSEL-STREET,
BLOOMSBURY.

SIR,

AS ſhy as I know You to be of public Notice and Eclat, let me for once draw, if not You, your Name at leaſt, from that Receſs which You value in proportion to the Meaſure of Felicity that You derive from it, and to your Contempt

for the Blaze and Tumult of Public Life: A Taſte to which I have the Pleaſure of finding my own ſo intirely conformable.

QUIET Paſſions and an eaſy Mind conſtitute Happineſs; which is never found where theſe are not, and muſt ceaſe to be, when theſe ceaſe to ſupport it. Mighty Pomp and Retinue, glaring Equipages, and the Attendance of Crowds, are Signs, indeed Burdens, of Greatneſs, rather than Proofs of Happineſs, which I doubt is leaſt felt where theſe its Appearances are moſt ſeen. The principal Happineſs which they ſeem to bring, is, that other People think them Marks of it; and very imperfect muſt be that Happineſs which a Man derives, not from what he himſelf feels, but from what another imagines. We may indeed be happy in

our

our own Dreams, but can never be happy by the Dreams of others.

HAPPIEST of all Men, to me, ſeems the Private Man; nor can the Opinion of ill-judging Crowds make him leſs happy, becauſe they may think others more ſo. He who can live alone without Uneaſineſs, who can ſurvey his paſt Life with Pleaſure, who can look back without Compunction or Shame, forward without Fear of Rebuke; he, whoſe every Day hath produced ſome Good, at leaſt is paſſed with Innocence; the ſilent Benefactor, the ready and faithful Friend; he who is filled with ſecret Delight, becauſe he feels his Heart full of Benevolence, who finds Pleaſure in Relieving and Aſſiſting; the Domeſtic Man, perhaps little talked of, perhaps leſs ſeen, beloved by

his Friends, truſted and eſteemed by all that know him, often uſeful to ſuch as know him not, enjoys ſuch high Felicity as the Wealth of Kingdoms and the Bounty of Kings cannot confer.

IMAGINARY Happineſs is a poor Amends for the want of real. Nor can a better Reaſon than this be urged againſt envying any Man's Grandeur and State, however mighty it be, however eaſy it appear. A great Lot is ever accompanied with many Cares; and whoever ſtands conſtantly in the Eye of the World, will be apt to feel a conſtant Concern (perhaps even to Anxiety) how to become his Station and Degree, or how to raiſe it, or how to keep it from ſinking. The more he is ſet to View, the more glaring will be any Blot in his Character, and the more

more magnified: Nay, malignant Eyes will be ſeeing Blots where there are none; and 'tis certain, that, with all his Grandeur, nay by the Means and Help of his Grandeur, it will be always in the Power of very little People to mortify him, when he can no wiſe in return hurt them: And thus the leaſt Man may become an Overmatch for the greateſt.

MEN are more upon a Level than is generally believed; or rather the Advantage is commonly where 'tis leaſt imagined, if we take our Eſtimate where it ought to be taken, from the State and Meaſure of their Paſſions; ſince from this Source their Happineſs or Miſery ariſes. Greatneſs accompanied with Vexations, is worſe than an humble State void of Anxiety; and he who aims not at an elevated Lot, is

happier than he, who, having it, fears to loſe it.

HAPPINESS is therefore from within juſt as much as is Virtue; and the virtuous Man enjoys the moſt.

IF with this Goodneſs of Mind he be alſo a wiſe Man, and a Maſter of his Paſſions; if to good Senſe he have joined other laudable Accompliſhments, a competent Acquaintance with Books, with a thorough Knowledge of the World, and of Mankind; if he be a benevolent Neighbour, a uſeful Member of Society, perfectly diſintereſted, and juſtly eſteemed; if he have ſerved and ſaved great Numbers; if he be daily protecting the Innocent, daily watching and reſtraining the Guilty; his Happineſs muſt be complete, and all his Reflexions pleaſing.

WHO

WHO this happy Man is, where this amiable Character to be found, is what I pretend not to inform You; though I am perſuaded that few that know You, will ask that Queſtion. My Purpoſe here is, to deſire your Permiſſion to prefix your Name to the following Edition of CATO'S *Letters*, as well as to what I have ſaid of Mr. TRENCHARD: He eſteemed You as much as one Man could another: You lived in a long Courſe of Intimacy with him: I have long lived, to my great Advantage and Pleaſure, in an equal Courſe of Intimacy with You. You ſaw moſt of theſe Papers before they came out, and many of them were firſt left to your Peruſal and Judgment. You know in a great meaſure which were his, which were mine; and no Man

elſe whoſoever was concerned or conſulted. You know what Motives produced them; how remote ſuch Motives were from Views of Intereſt; and that whilſt they continued in full Credit with the Public, they were laid down, purely becauſe it was judged that the Public, after all its terrible Convulſions, was again become calm and ſafe.

You can vouch, that, as theſe Letters were the Work of no Faction or Cabal, nor calculated for any lucrative or ambitious Ends, or to ſerve the Purpoſes of any Party whatſoever, but that they attacked Falſhood and Diſhoneſty in all Shapes and Parties, without temporizing with any, but doing Juſtice to all, even to the weakeſt and moſt unfaſhionable, and maintaining the Principles of Liberty againſt the Practices of moſt Parties; ſo they were drop-

dropped without any ſordid Compoſition, and without any Conſideration, ſave that already mentioned. They had treated of moſt of the Subjects important to the World, and meddled with public Meaſures and public Men only in great Inſtances.

You know that in the Character which I have here given of Mr. TRENCHARD, I have ſet him no higher than his own great Abilities and many Virtues ſet him; that his Failings were ſmall, his Talents extraordinary, his Probity equal; and that he was one of the worthieſt, one of the ableſt, one of the moſt uſeful Men, that ever any Country was bleſſed withal.

You know all the Writings which he ever produced, and ſaw moſt of them

them before they were publiſhed. You know that whatever he wrote was occaſional, the Effect of preſent Thought, and for immediate Uſe, and that he never laid up Writings in ſtore; an Undertaking quite oppoſite to his Turn; and all his Acquaintance knew that he could never ſubmit to ſuch a Task.

I MENTION this laſt Particular in Juſtice to him, that he may not be anſwerable for any Work in which he had no Share. Becauſe I have been told that ſome, who knew nothing, or very little of him, perhaps never ſaw him, have fathered upon him Writings which he never wrote; from no Kindneſs to him, but purely becauſe they were not diſpoſed to let me be the Author of a Work which found ſuch favourable Reception from the

World,

World, though it was written ſeveral Years after that worthy Man, my Friend, was dead. You, who are one of his Executors, and ſaw all his Papers, know, as the other Executors perfectly do, that he left no Writings at all behind him, but two or three looſe Papers, once intended for CATO's *Letters*, and afterwards laid aſide; which Papers of his, with ſome of mine of the ſame Sort, you have in your Hands.

As You have for many Years ſeen whatever I intended for the Public, You know by what Intervals I tranſlated TACITUS, and when it was that I wrote the Diſcourſes upon that Author, ſince you peruſed both as I produced them; and the Diſcourſes prefixed to the firſt Volume were not begun

begun till three Years after his Death; nor thoſe to the ſecond till two Years after the former. You can therefore vouch what an abſurd Falſhood they are guilty of, who would aſcribe theſe Diſcourſes to him, to whoſe valuable Name I ever have done, I ever ſhall do, all Honour and exact Juſtice. Had he really written and owned that Work, 'tis more than probable, that the ſame Slanderers would have attributed it to ſome body elſe.

I SHOULD not have once mentioned this ridiculous Falſhood, which You and many others know to be a complete one in all its Parts, had it not in ſome meaſure concerned the Public. Let this Detection be the Puniſhment of the little malicious Minds who invented it; nor can there be

be a greater, if they have one honeſt Paſſion remaining, that of Shame, or any other, to repreſent them to themſelves in their own miſerable Colours, lying, envious, and contemptible. It is a Lot ſufficiently wretched, to be obliged to hate one's ſelf; and to be hardened againſt juſt Shame and Remorſe, is almoſt as bad. Doubtleſs it were better to have no Soul, than to have a lying and malicious one; better not to be, than to be a falſe and ſpiteful Being.

UNHAPPILY for theſe undiſcerning Slanderers, who, whilſt they mean me a Reproach, make me a Compliment, many of the Reflexions in the Diſcourſes upon TACITUS are illuſtrated from Books that have been written, and from Facts that have hap-

happened ſince Mr. TRENCHARD's Death, ſome of them long ſince his Death.

IT may be proper here to mention another Miſtake which has generally prevailed; That a noble Peer of a neighbouring Nation, now dead, had a chief, at leaſt a conſiderable Hand in CATO's *Letters*. Though what I have already ſaid in this Addreſs to You abundantly contradicts this Miſtake; yet, for the Satisfaction of the World, and for the Sake of Truth and Juſtice, I here ſolemnly aver (and You well know what I aver to be ſtrictly true) That this noble Perſon never wrote a Line of thoſe Letters, nor contributed a Thought towards them, nor knew who wrote them, till all the World knew; nor was ever

ever conſulted about them before or after, nor ever ſaw any of them till they were publiſhed, except one by accident.

I AM far from mentioning thus much as any Reflexion upon that able and learned Nobleman, who profeſſed a Friendſhip for Mr. TRENCHARD and myſelf, and was ſo fond of theſe Letters, that, from his great Partiality in ſpeaking of them, many People inferred them to be his own. I muſt add, that he ſent once or twice, or oftener, ſome Papers to be publiſhed under CATO's Name; but as they were judged too particular, and not to coincide with CATO's Deſign, they were not uſed. He afterwards publiſhed ſome of them in another Form. What heightened the Report of his being

being the Author of CATO's *Letters*, was, that there then came forth a public Print of his Lordſhip, with a Compliment at the Bottom to him, as CATO. I have been told, that this was officiouſly done by Mr. TOLAND.

MY Regard for the Memory of Mr. TRENCHARD obliges me to take notice alſo of ſome Men, who, ſince his Death, have thought fit to have been very intimate with him; though, to my Knowledge and yours, he hardly ever converſed with them, and always ſtrove to ſhun them, ſuch of them eſpecially as he found to be void of Veracity.

LET me add, that theſe Letters are ſtill ſo well received by the Public, that

that the laſt Edition has been long ſince ſold off, and for above three Years paſt it was ſcarce poſſible to find a Sett of them, unleſs in public Auctions. I mention this, that the preſent Edition may not ſeem owing to the frequent Quotations made from them in our late Party-hoſtilities. I flatter myſelf, that, as theſe Papers contain Truths and Reaſons eternally intereſting to human Society, they will at all Times be found ſeaſonable and uſeful. They have already ſurvived all the Clamour and Obloquy of Party, and indeed are no longer conſidered as Party-Writings, but as impartial Leſſons of Liberty and Virtue. Nor would it be a ſmall Recommendation of them to the World (if the World knew You as well as I know You) that they have ever had your Approbation. I

am

am therefore very proud, upon this public Occaſion, to declare, that I have long experienced your faithful Friendſhip; and that I am, with very great and very ſincere Eſteem,

SIR,

Your moſt Faithful, and

Moſt Humble Servant,

T. GORDON.

THE

THE PREFACE.

THE following Letters, firſt printed Weekly, and then moſt of them gathered into Collections from Time to Time, are now brought all together into Four Volumes. They were begun in *November*, 1720, with an honeſt and humane Intention, to call for Publick Juſtice upon the wicked Managers of the late fatal *South-Sea* Scheme; and probably helped to procure

I am glad, however, that by reading and approving many of *Cato*'s *Letters*, they have been brought to read and approve a general Condemnation of their own Scheme. It is more than ever they did before; and I am not without Hopes, that what they have begun in Paſſion, may end in Conviction. *Cato* is happy, if he has been the Means of bringing thoſe Men to think for themſelvs, whoſe Character it has been to let other Men think for them: — A Character, which is the higheſt Shame, and the greateſt Unhappineſs, of a rational Being. Theſe Papers, having fully opened the Principles of Liberty and Power, and rendered them plain to every Underſtanding, may perhaps have their Share in preventing, for the Time to come, ſuch Storms of Zeal for Nonſenſe and Falſhood, as have thrown the Three Kingdoms more than once into Convulſions. I hope they have largely helped to cure and remove thoſe monſtrous Notions of Government, which have been long inſtilled by the crafty Few into the ignorant Many.

It was no Matter of Wonder that theſe Letters ſhould be ill underſtood, and maliciouſly applied, by ſome, who, having no Principles of their own, or vile ones, were apt to wreſt *Cato*'s Papers and Principles to favour their own Prejudices and baſe Wiſhes. But for ſuch as have always profeſſed to entertain the ſame Sentiments of Govern-

ment

ment with *Cato*, and yet have been offended with his Sentiments; as this their Offence was neither his Fault nor Intention, I can only be ſorry for their Sakes, that the Principles which they avowed at all Times ſhould diſpleaſe them at any Time. I am willing to believe, that it was not the Doctrine, but the Application, that diſobliged them. Nor was *Cato* anſwerable for this; they themſelves made it, and often made it wrong. All candid and well-bred Men (if *Cato* may be reckoned in the Number) abhor all Attacks upon the Perſons and private Characters of Men, and all little Stories invented or revived to blacken them. Theſe are cowardly and barbarous Practices; the Work and Ambition of little and malicious Minds: Nor wanted he any ſuch low and contemptible Artifices to gain Readers. He attended only to general Reaſonings about publick Virtue and Corruption, unbiaſſed by Pique or Favour to any Man. In this upright and impartial Purſuit he abuſed no Man's Perſon; he courted no Man's Fortune; he dreaded no Man's Reſentment.

It was a heavy Charge upon *Cato*, which however wanted not Vouchers (if they were in earneſt) that he has ſpoken diſreſpectfully, nay inſolently, of the King. But this Charge has been only aſſerted. If it were in the leaſt true, I ſhould be the firſt to own, that all the Clamour raiſed againſt him was juſt upon him. But the Papers vindicate

themſelves; nor was any Prince ever treated with more ſincere Duty and Regard, in any publick or private Writings, than his preſent Majeſty has been in theſe. In Point of Principle and Affection, his Majeſty never had a better Subject than *Cato*; and if he have any bad ones, they are not of *Cato's* making. I know that this Nation cannot be preſerved, if this Eſtabliſhment be deſtroyed; and I am ſtill perſuaded, that nothing tended more to his Majeſty's Advantage and Popularity, or more to the Credit of his Adminiſtration, or more to the Security of the Subject, than the purſuing with quick and impartial Vengeance thoſe Men, who were Enemies to all Men, and to his Majeſty the moſt dangerous of all his Enemies; a Blot and a Curſe to the Nation, and the Authors of ſuch Diſcontents in ſome, and of ſuch Deſigns in others, as the worſt Men wanted, and the beſt Men feared.

In anſwer to thoſe deep Politicians, who have been puzzled to know who were meant by *Cicero* and *Brutus:* Intending to deal candidly with them, and to put them out of Pain and Doubt, I aſſure them, that *Cicero* and *Brutus* were meant; that I know no preſent Characters or Story that will fit theirs; that theſe Letters were tranſlated for the Service of Liberty in general; and that neither Reproof nor Praiſe was intended by them to any Man living. And if theſe gueſſing Sages are in

Perplexity

Perplexity about any other Paſſage in *Cato*'s Letters, it is ten to one but the ſame Anſwer will relieve them. There was nothing in thoſe Letters analogous to our Affairs; but as they are extremely fine, full of Virtue and good Senſe, and the Love of Mankind, it was thought worth while to put them into *Engliſh*, as a proper Entertainment for *Engliſh* Readers. This was the utmoſt and only View; and it was at leaſt an unkind Miſtake to ſuppoſe any other.

In one of *Brutus*'s Letters it is ſaid, *We do not diſpute about the Qualifications of a Maſter; we will have no Maſter.* This is far from being ſtronger than the Original: — *Niſi forte non de ſervitute, ſed de conditione ſerviendi, recuſandum eſt a nobis.* From whence ſome have inferred, that becauſe *Brutus* was againſt having a Maſter, therefore *Cato* was againſt having a King: A ſtrange Conſtruction, and a wild Conſequence! As if the Tranſlator of *Brutus*'s Letters were not to follow the Senſe of *Brutus:* Or, as if there were no Difference in *England* between a King and a Maſter, which are juſt as oppoſite as King and Tyrant. In a neighbouring Country, indeed, they ſay that their Monarch is born Maſter of the Kingdom; and I believe they feel it; as they do with a Witneſs in *Turkey*. But it is not ſo here: I hope it never will be. We have a King made and limited by the Law. *Brutus* having killed one Uſurper, was op-

poſing another, overturning by Violence all Law: Where is the Parity, or Room for it?

The ſame Defence is to be made for the Papers that aſſert the Lawfulneſs of killing *Cæſar*. It has been a Queſtion long debated in the World; though I think it admits of little Room for Debate; the only Arguments to be anſwered being Prejudice and Clamour, which are fully anſwered and expoſed in theſe Papers. What is ſaid in them can be only applicable to thoſe who do as *Cæſar* and *Brutus* did; and can no otherwiſe affect our free and legal Government, than by furniſhing real Arguments to defend it. The ſame Principles of Nature and Reaſon that ſupported Liberty at *Rome*, muſt ſupport it here and every where, however the Circumſtances of adjuſting them may vary in different Places; as the Foundations of Tyranny are in all Countries, and at all Times, eſſentially the ſame; namely, too much Force in the Hands of one Man, or of a few unaccountable Magiſtrates, and Power without a Balance: A ſorrowful Circumſtance for any People to fall into. I hope it is no Crime to write againſt ſo great an Evil. The Sum of the Queſtion is, Whether Mankind have a Right to be happy, and to oppoſe their own Deſtruction? And whether any Man has a Right to make them miſerable?

Machiavel

Machiavel puts *Cæſar* upon the ſame Foot with the worſt and moſt deteſtable Tyrants, ſuch as *Nabis*, *Phalaris*, and *Dionyſius*. "Nor let any "Man, *ſays he*, deceive himſelf with *Cæſar's* Re- "putation, by finding him ſo exceedingly eminent "in Hiſtory. Thoſe who cried him up, were "either corrupted by his Fortune, or terrified by "his Power; for whilſt his Empire continued, it "was never permitted to any Man to ſay any "thing againſt him. Doubtleſs if Writers had "had their Liberty, they could have ſaid as much "of him as of *Catiline*: And *Cæſar* is much the "worſt of the two, by how much it is worſe to "perpetrate a wicked Thing, than to deſign it. "And this may be judged by what is ſaid of "*Brutus* his Adverſary; for, not daring to ſpeak "in plain Terms of *Cæſar*, by reaſon of his "Power, they, by a kind of Reverſe, magnified "his Enemy." He afterwards gives a Summary of the doleful Waſte and crying Miſeries brought upon *Rome* and upon Mankind by the Imperial Wolves his Succeſſors; and adds, that, by ſuch a Recapitulation, "it will appear what mighty Ob- "ligations *Rome* and *Italy* and the whole World "had to *Cæſar*.

I ſhall ſay no more of theſe Papers either in general or particular. I leave the ſeveral Argu- ments maintained in them to juſtify themſelves,

and cannot help thinking that they are ſupported by the united Force of Experience, Reaſon, and Nature. It is the Intereſt of Mankind that they aſſert; and it is the Intereſt of Mankind that they ſhould be true. The Opinion of the World concerning them may be known from hence; that they have had more Friends and Readers at Home and Abroad than any Paper that ever appeared in it; nor does it leſſen their Praiſe, that they have alſo had more Enemies.

Who were the Authors of theſe Letters, is now, I believe, pretty well known. It is with the utmoſt Sorrow I ſay, that one of them is lately dead, and his Death is a Loſs to Mankind. To me it is by far the greateſt and moſt ſhocking that I ever knew; as he was the beſt Friend that I ever had; I may ſay the firſt Friend. I found great Credit and Advantage in his Friendſhip, and ſhall value myſelf upon it as long as I live. From the Moment he knew me, till the Moment he died, every Part of his Behaviour to me was a Proof of his Affection for me. From a perfect Stranger to him, and without any other Recommendation than a caſual Coffee-houſe Acquaintance, and his own good Opinion, he took me into his Favour and Care, and into as high a Degree of Intimacy as ever was ſhewn by one Man to another. This was the more remarkable, and did me the greater Honour, for that he

he was naturally as ſhy in making Friendſhips, as he was eminently conſtant to thoſe which he had already made. His Shyneſs this way was founded upon wiſe and virtuous Conſiderations. He knew that in a Number of Friendſhips, ſome would prove ſuperficial, ſome deceitful, ſome would be neglected; and he never profeſſed a Friendſhip without a ſincere Intention to be a Friend; which he was ſatisfied a private Man could not be to many at once, in Caſes of Exigency and Trial. Beſides, he had found much Baſeneſs from falſe Friends, who, for his beſt Offices, made him vile Returns. He conſidered mutual Friends as under mutual Obligations, and he would contract no Obligation which he was not in earneſt to diſcharge.

This was agreeable to the great Sincerity of his Soul, which would ſuffer him to miſlead no Man into Hopes and Expectations without Grounds. He would let no body depend upon him in vain. The contrary Conduct he thought had great Cruelty in it, as it was founding Confidence upon Deceit, and abuſing the good Faith of thoſe who truſted in us: Hence Hypocriſy on one Side, as ſoon as it was diſcovered, begot Hatred on the other, and falſe Friendſhip ended in ſincere Enmity: A Violence was done to a tender Point of Morality, and the Reputation of him who did it

loſt and expoſed amongſt thoſe who thought that he had the moſt.

He was indeed ſo tender and exact in his Dealings with all Sorts of Men, that he uſed to lay his Meaning and Purpoſes minutely before them, and ſcorned to gain any Advantage from their miſtakeing his Intentions. He told them what he would and would not do on his Part, and what he expected on theirs, with the utmoſt Accuracy and Openneſs. They at leaſt knew the worſt; and the only Latitude which he reſerved to himſelf was, to be better than his Word; but he would let no Man hope for what he did not mean. He thought that he never could be too plain with thoſe whom he had to do with; and as Men are apt to conſtrue Things moſt in their own Favour, he uſed to foreſee and obviate thoſe their partial Conſtructions, and to fix every thing upon full and expreſs Terms. He abhorred the miſleading of Men by artful and equivocal Words; and becauſe People are ready to put Meanings upon a Man's Countenance and Demeanour, his Sincerity extended even to his Carriage and Manner; and though he was very civil to every body, he ordered it ſo, that the Forms of his Civility appeared to mean no more than Forms, and could not be miſtaken for Marks of Affection, where he had none: And it is very true, that a Man's Behaviour may, without one Word ſaid, make Profeſſions and

Pro-

Promiſes, and he may play the Knave by a kind Look.

He uſed to ſay, and from knowing him long and intimately I could believe him when he ſaid, that he never broke a Promiſe nor an Appointment in his Life, in any Inſtance where it was practicable to keep them. If he were to make a Viſit at an Hour, or to meet a Friend at an Hour, he was always there before the Hour. He obſerved the ſame ſevere Punctuality in every other Engagement of his, and had a very ill Opinion of ſuch as did not make every Promiſe of every kind a Matter of Morality and Honour. He conſidered a Man's Behaviour in ſmaller Matters, as a Specimen of what he would do in Matters that were greater; and that a Principle of Faithfulneſs, or the want of it, would ſhew itſelf in little as well as in conſiderable Things; that he who would try your Patience in the Buſineſs of an Appointment, would fail you in a Buſineſs of Property; that one who promiſed at random, and miſled you, without an Intention to miſlead you, was a trifling Man, and wanted Honeſty, though he had no Treachery, as he who did it with Deſign was a Knave; that from what Cauſe ſoever they deceiv̧d you, the Deceit was the ſame, and both were equally to be diſtruſted; that Punctuality or Remiſſneſs, Sincerity or Perfidiouſneſs, runs, generally, through the whole of a Man's Life and

Actions, and you need only obſerve his Behaviour in one or two, to know his Behaviour in all; and a negligent Man when he is neglected, has no Reaſon to complain, no more than a falſe Man when he is hated. In many Inſtances, Negligence has all the Effects of Falſhood, and is as far from Virtue, though not ſo near Vice.

As Mr. *Trenchard* was wary and reſerved in the Choice of his Friends, ſo no ſmall Faults, no ſudden Prejudices nor Guſts of Humour or Paſſion, could ſhake their Intereſt in him, or induce him to part with them; nor could any Calumnies, however artful, nor the moſt malicious Tales and Inſuſions, however ſpeciouſly dreſſed up, leſſen his Regard for them. In thoſe Caſes, as in all others, he would ſee with his own Eyes, and have full Proof, before he believed or condemned. He knew how eaſily Prejudices and Stories are taken up; he knew how apt Malice and Emulation are to creep into the Heart of Man, and to canker it; how quickly Reports are framed, how ſuddenly improved; how eaſily an additional Word or Circumſtance can transform Good into Evil, and Evil into Good; and how common it is to add Words and Circumſtances, as well as to create Facts. He was aware that too many Men are governed by ill Nature; that the beſt are liable to Prepoſſeſſions and Miſinformation; and that if we liſten to every ſpiteful Tale and Inſinuation that

Men

Men are prone to utter concerning one another, no two Men in the World could be two Days Friends. He therefore always judged for himſelf, unbiaſſed by Paſſion or any Man's Authority; and when he did change, it was Demonſtration that changed him. He carried his Tenderneſs even to his loweſt Servants; nor could his Steward, who had ſerved him many Years, and given him long Proof of great Integrity and good Underſtanding, ever determine him to turn away a Servant, till he had ſatisfied himſelf that he ought to be turned away. He was not aſſured but his Steward might be prejudiced, notwithſtanding his Probity: And the Steward has told me, that he never went with any Complaint to his Maſter, how neceſſary ſoever for him to hear, but he went with ſome Uneaſineſs and Diffidence.

No Man ever made greater Allowances for human Infirmities, and for the Errors and Follies of Men. This was a Character which he did not bear; but it is religiouſly true. He knew what feeble Materials human Nature was made of; perhaps no Man that ever was born knew it better. Mankind lay as it were diſſected before him; and he ſaw all their Advantages and Deformities, all their Weakneſſes, Paſſions, Defects, and Exceſſes, with prodigious Clearneſs, and could deſcribe them with prodigious Force. Man in Society, Man out of Society, was perfectly known and familiar

to

to his great and lively Underſtanding, and ſtood naked to his Eye, diveſted of all the Advantages, Supplements, and Diſguiſes of Art. His Reaſonings upon this Subject, as upon all others, were admirable, beautiful, and full of Life.

As to his Indulgence to human Infirmities, he knew that without it every Man would be an unſociable Creature to another, ſince every Man living has Infirmities; that we muſt take Men as they are, or not at all; that it is but mutual Equity to allow others what we want and expect to ourſelves; that as good and ill Qualities are often blended together, ſo they often ariſe out of one another: Thus Men of great Wit and Spirit are often Men of ſtrong Paſſion and Vehemence; and the firſt makes Amends for the laſt: Thus great Humouriſts are generally very honeſt Men; and weak Men have ſometimes great good Nature. Upon this Foundation no Man lived more eaſy and debonair with his Acquaintance, or bore their Failings better. Good Nature and Sincerity was all that he expected of them. But in the Number of natural Infirmities, he never reckoned Falſhood and Knavery, to which he gave no Quarter. Human Weakneſſes were invincible; but no Man was born a Knave: He chooſes his own Character, and no ſincere Man can love him.

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In his Tranſactions with Men, he had a ſurpriſing Talent at bringing them over to his Opinion. His firſt Care was that it was ſure, and well-grounded, and important; and then he was a prevailing Advocate: he entered into it with all his Might; and his Might was irreſiſtible. He ſaw it in its whole Extent, with all the Reaſons and all the Difficulties, and could throw both into a thouſand ſurpriſing Lights; and nothing could eſcape him. This a Friend of his uſed to call bringing Heaven and Earth into his Argument. He had indeed a vaſt Variety of Images, a Deluge of Language, mighty Perſuaſion in his Looks, and great natural Authority. You ſaw that he was in earneſt; you ſaw his excellent Judgment, and you ſaw his upright Soul.

He had the ſame Facility in expoſing and takeing to Pieces plauſible and deceitful Reaſonings. This he did with vaſt Quickneſs and Brevity, and with happy Turns of Ridicule. Many a grave Argument, delivered very plauſibly and at large, in good and well-ſounding Language, has he quite defeated with a ſenſible Jeſt of three Words, or a pleaſant Story not much longer. He had a Promptneſs at Repartee, which few Men ever equalled, and none ever excelled. He ſaw with great Suddenneſs the Strength and Weakneſs of Things,

Things, their Juſtneſs or Ridicule, and had equal Excellence in ſhewing either.

The Quickneſs of his Spirit made him ſometimes ſay Things which were ill taken, and for which upon Recollection he himſelf was always ſorry. But in the midſt of his greateſt Heat I never heard him utter a Word that was ſhocking or dangerous: So great was his Judgment, and the Guard which he kept over himſelf and over the natural Impetuoſity of his Temper. He was naturally a warm Man; but his Wiſdom and Obſervation gave him great Warineſs and Circumſpection in great Affairs; and never was Man more for moderate and calm Counſels, or more an Enemy to raſh ones. He had ſo little of Revenge in his Temper, that his perſonal Reſentment never carried him to hurt any Man, or to wiſh him Hurt, unleſs from other Cauſes he deſerved it.

He had an immenſe Fund of natural Eloquence, a graceful and perſuaſive Manner, a world of Action, and a Style ſtrong, clear, figurative, and full of Fire. He attended to the Senſe much more than to the Expreſſion; and yet his Expreſſion was noble. Coming late into the Houſe of Commons, and being but one Seſſions there, he could not exert his great Talent that way with Freedom; but the few Speeches which he made were full of excellent ſtrong Senſe; and he was always heard

heard with much Attention and Reſpect. Whether he would have ever come to have ſpoke there with perfect Eaſe and Boldneſs, Time, from which he is now taken away, could only ſhew. It is certain, in that ſhort Space he acquired very high Eſteem with all Sorts of Men, and removed many Prejudices conceived againſt him, before he ſhewed himſelf in publick. He had been thought a moroſe and impracticable Man. —— An Imputation which nothing but Ill-will, or Ignorance of his true Character, could lay upon him. He was one of the gayeſt, pleaſanteſt Men that ever lived; an enchanting Companion, and full of Mirth and Raillery; familiar and communicative to the laſt Degree; eaſy, kind-hearted, and utterly free from all Grimace and Statelineſs. He was acceſſible to all Men. No Man came more frankly into Conviction; no Man was more candid in owning his Miſtakes; no Man more ready to do kind and obliging Offices. He had not one ambitious Thought, nor a crooked one, nor an envious one. He had but one View; to be in the Right, and to do Good; and he would have heartily joined with any Man, or any Party of Men, to have attained it. If he erred, he erred innocently; for he ſincerely walked according to the beſt Light that he had. Is this the Character, this the Behaviour, of a moroſe, of an impracticable Man? Yet this was the Character of Mr. *Trenchard*, as many

many great and worthy Men, who once believed the contrary, lived to ſee.

He was cordially in the Intereſt of Mankind, and of this Nation, and of this Government; and never found Fault with publick Meaſures, but when he really thought that they were againſt the Publick. According to the Views which he had of Things, he judged excellently; and often traced Attempts and Events to their firſt true Sources, however diſguiſed or denied, by the mere Force of his own ſtrong Underſtanding. He had an amazing Sagacity and Compaſs of Thinking; and it was ſcarce poſſible to impoſe Appearances upon him for Principles: And they who having the ſame good Affections with him, yet ſometimes differed in Opinion from him, did it often from the Difference of their Underſtandings. They ſaw not ſo far into the Cauſes and Conſequences of Things: Few Men upon Earth did; very few. His active and inquiſitive Mind, full of Velocity and Penetration, had not the ſame Limits with thoſe of other Men: It was all Lightning, and diſſipated in an Inſtant the Doubts and Darkneſs which bewildered the Heads of others. In a Moment he unravelled the obſcureſt Queſtions; in a Moment he ſaw the Tendency of Things. I could give many undeniable Inſtances, where every Jot of the Events which he foretold came to paſs, and in the Manner that he fore-

foretold. Without doubt, he was ſometimes miſtaken; but his Miſtakes did him no Diſcredit; they aroſe from no Defect in his Judgment, and from no Sourneſs of Mind.

As he wanted nothing but to ſee the Publick proſper, he emulated no Man's Greatneſs; but rejoiced in the Publick Welfare, whatever Hands conducted it. No Man ever dreaded publick Evils more, or took them more to Heart: At one time they had almoſt broke it. The National Confuſions, Diſtreſſes, and Deſpair, which we laboured under a few Years ago gave him much Anxiety and Sorrow, which preyed upon him, and endangered his Life ſo much, that had he ſtaid in Town a few Days longer, it was more than probable he would never have gone out of it alive. He even dreaded a Revolution; and the more, becauſe he ſaw ſome eaſy and ſecure, who ought to have dreaded it moſt. This was no Riddle to him then, and he fancied that he had lived to ſee the Riddle explained to others.

The perſonal Reſentment which he bore to a Gread Man now dead, for perſonal Injuries, had no Share in the Oppoſition which he gave to his Adminiſtration, how natural ſoever it was to believe that it had. He only conſidered the Publick in that Oppoſition; which he would have gladly dropped, and changed Oppoſition into Aſſiſtance,

ſiſtance, without any Advantage or Regard to himſelf, if he could have been ſatisfied that that Great Man loved his Country as well as he loved Power. Nor did he ever quarrel with any Great Man about ſmall Conſiderations. On the contrary, he made great Allowances for their Errors, for the Care of their Fortunes and Families, and even for their Ambition, provided their Ambition was honeſtly directed, and the Publick was not degraded or neglected, to ſatiate their domeſtick Pride. He did not vainly expect from Men that Perfection and Heroiſm which, he knew, were not to be found in Men; and he cared not how much Good Miniſters did to themſelves, if by it they hurt not their Country. He had two Things much at Heart; the keeping *England* out of foreign Broils, and paying off the publick Debts. He thought that the one depended upon the other, and that the Fate and Being of the Nation depended upon the laſt; and I believe that few Men who think at all, think him miſtaken. For a good while before he died he was eaſier, as to thoſe Matters, than I had ever known him. He was pleaſed with the Calm that we were in, and entertained favourable Hopes and Opinions. Nor is it any Diſcredit to the preſent Adminiſtration, that Mr. *Trenchard* was more partial to it than I ever knew him to any other. In this he ſincerely followed his Judgment; for it is moſt certain that he had not one View to himſelf; nor could any human

man Conſideration have withdrawn him from the publick Intereſt. It was hard to miſlead him; impoſſible to corrupt him.

No Man was ever more remote from all Thoughts of publick Employments: He was even determined againſt them; yet he would never abſolutely declare that he would at no Time engage in them, becauſe it was barely poſſible that he might. So nice and ſevere was his Veracity! He had infinite Talents for Buſineſs; a Head wonderfully turned for Schemes, Trains of Reaſoning, and Variety of Affairs; extreme Promptneſs, indefatigable Induſtry, a ſtrong Memory, mighty Diſpatch, and great Adroitneſs in applying to the Paſſions of Men. This laſt Talent was not generally known to be his: He was thought a poſitive, uncomplying Man; and in Matters of Right and Wrong he was ſo. But it is as true, that he knew perfectly how Mankind were to be dealt with; that he could manage their Tempers with great Art, and bear with all their Humours and Weakneſſes with great Patience. He could reaſon or rally, be grave or pleaſant, with equal Succeſs; and make himſelf extremely agreeable to all Sorts of People, without the leaſt Departure from his native Candour and Integrity. As he chiefly loved Privacy and a domeſtick Life, he ſeldom throwed himſelf in the Way of Popularity; but where-ever he

he ſought it, he had it. One Proof of this may be learned from the great Town * where he was choſen into Parliament; no Man was ever more beloved and admired by any Place. He found them full of Prejudices againſt him, and left them full of Affection for him. Very different Kinds of Men, widely different in Principle, agreed in loving him equally; and adore his Memory, now he is gone. The few ſour Men who oppoſed him there, owed him better Things, and did themſelves no Credit by their Oppoſition.

In Converſation he was frank, chearful, and familiar, without Reſerve; and entertaining beyond Belief. His Head was ſo clear, ready, and ſo full of Knowledge, that I have often heard him make as ſtrong, fine, and uſeful Diſcourſes at his Table, as ever he wrote in his Cloſet; though I think hs is in the higheſt Claſs of Writers that have appeared in the World. He had ſuch ſurpriſing Images, ſuch a happy Way of conceiving Things, and of putting Words together, as few Men upon Earth ever had. He talked without the Pendantry of a Man who loves to hear himſelf talk, or is fond of Applauſe. He was always excellent Company; but the Time of the Day when he ſhined moſt, was for three Hours or more after Dinner: Towards the Evening he was generally

* Taunton in Somerſetſhire.

ſubject

ſubject to Indigeſtions. The Time which he choſe to think in, was the Morning.

He was acceptable Company to Women. He treated them with great Niceneſs and Reſpect; he abounded in their own Chit-Chat, and ſaid a world of pleaſant Things. He was a tender and obliging Husband; and indeed had uncommon Cauſe to be ſo, as he well knew, and has ſhewn by his Will: But he had worthy and generous Notions of the kind Regard which Men owe to Women in general, eſpecially to their Wives; who, when they are bad, may often thank their Husbands. This was a Theme that he often enlarged upon with great Wiſdom. He was very partial to the Fair Sex, and had a great deal of Gallantry in his Temper.

He was a friendly Neighbour: He ſtudied to live well with every body about him; and took a ſenſible Pleaſure in doing good Offices. He was an Enemy to Litigiouſneſs and Strife; and I think he told me, that he never had a Law-Suit in his Life. He was a kind and generous Landlord; he never hurried nor diſtreſſed any of his Tenants for Rent, and made them frequent and unasked Abatements. There were yearly Inſtances of this. He was exact in performing all his Covenants with them, and never forgot any Promiſe that he had made them. Nor did he ever deny any Tenant

Tenant any reaſonable Favour: But he knew his Eſtate well; they could not eaſily deceive him: And none but ſuch as did ſo, or attempted it, were known to complain.

To his Servants he was a juſt and merciful Maſter. Under him they had good Uſage and Plenty; and the worſt that they had to apprehend in his Service, was now and then a paſſionate Expreſſion. He loved to ſee chearful Faces about him. He was particularly tender of them in their Sickneſs, and often paid large Bills for their Cure. For this his Compaſſion and Bounty he had almoſt always ill Returns. They thought that every Kindneſs done them, was done for their own Sake; that they were of ſuch Importance to him, that he could not live without them; and that therefore they were entitled to more Wages. He uſed to obſerve, that this Ingratitude was inſeparable from inferior Servants, and that they always founded ſome freſh Claim upon every Kindneſs which he did them. From hence he was wont to make many fine Obſervations upon human Nature, and particularly upon the Nature of the common Herd of Mankind.

Mr. *Trenchard* had a liberal Education, and was bred to the Law; in which, as I have heard ſome of his Cotemporaries ſay, he had made amazing Progreſs. But Politicks and the *Iriſh* Truſt,

Truſt *, in which he made a great Figure, though very young, took him from the Bar; whither he never had any Inclination to return. By the Death of an Uncle, and his Marriage, he was fallen into an eaſy Fortune, with the Proſpect of a much greater.

He was very knowing, but not learned; that is, he had not read many Books. Few Books pleaſed him: Where the Matter was not ſtrong, and fine, and laid cloſe together, it could not engage his Attention: He outran his Author, and had much more himſelf to ſay upon the Subject. He ſaid, that moſt Books were but Title-Pages, and in the firſt Leaf you ſaw all; that of many Books which were valued, half might be thrown away without loſing any thing. He knew well the general Hiſtory and State of the World, and its Geography every where. For a Gentleman, he was a good Mathematician; he had clear and extenſive Ideas of the Aſtronomical Syſtem, of the Power of Matter and Motion, and of the Cauſes and Production of Things. He underſtood perfectly the Intereſt of *England* in all its Branches, and the Intereſt and Pretenſions of the

* He was one of the Commiſſioners of the Forfeited Eſtates in Ireland in the Reign of King WILLIAM.

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ſeveral great Powers in *Europe*, with the State and general Balance of Trade every where. Upon theſe Subjects, and upon all others that are of Uſe to Mankind, he could diſcourſe with marvellous Force and Pertinency. Perhaps no Man living had thought ſo much and ſo variouſly. He had a buſy and a juſt Head, and was Maſter of any Subject in an Inſtant. He chiefly ſtudied Matters that were of Importance to the World; but loved Poetry and Things of Amuſement, when the Thoughts were juſt and witty: and no body enjoyed Pleaſantries more. He had formerly read the Claſſicks, and always retained many of their beautiful Paſſages, particularly from *Horace* and *Lucretius*, and from ſome of the Speeches in *Lucan*. He admired the Fire and Freedom of the laſt; as he did *Lucretius* for the Loftineſs of his Conceptions: And *Horace* he had almoſt all by Heart. He had the Works of *Cicero* and *Tacitus* in high Eſteem: He was not a little pleaſed when I ſet about tranſlating the latter. He thought no Author ſo fit to be read by a free People, like this; as none paints with ſuch Wiſdom and Force the ſhocking Deformities of that ſort of conſuming Government, which has rendered almoſt the whole Earth ſo thin and wretched.

He had a great Contempt for Logick, and the Learning of the Schools; and uſed to repeat with much Mirth an Obſervation of Dr. *Smith*, late Biſhop

Biſhop of *Down*, his Tutor. The Doctor uſed to ſay, That "Mr. *Trenchard*'s Talent of Reaſoning was owing to his having been ſo good "a Logician;" a Character for which he was eminent at the Univerſity. The Truth was, that his reaſoning Head made him excel in the Subtleties of Logick. Reaſon is a Faculty not to be learned, no more than Wit and Penetration. Having as great natural Parts as perhaps any Man was ever born with, he wanted none of the Shew and Aſſiſtance of Art; and many Men, who carry about them mighty Magazines of Learning and Quotation, would have made a poor Figure in Converſation with Mr. *Trenchard*. He highly valued learned Men, when they had good Senſe, and made good Uſe of their Learning: But mere Authorities, and Terms, and the Lumber of Words, were Sport to him; and he often made good Sport of thoſe who excelled in them. He had endleſs Reſources in his own ſtrong and ready Underſtanding, and uſed to ſtrip ſuch Men of their Armour of Names and Diſtinctions with wonderful Livelineſs and Pleaſantry. Having loſt all the Tackle of their Art, they had no Aids from Nature. Falſe Learning, falſe Gravity, and falſe Argument, never encountered a more ſucceſsful Foe. Extraordinary Learning and extraordinary Wit ſeldom meet in one Man: The Velocity of their Genius renders Men of great Wit incapable of that laborious Patience neceſſary

to make a Man very learned. *Cicero* and Monſieur *Bayle* had both, and ſo had our *Milton* and *George Buchanan*. I could name others; but all that I could mention are only Exceptions from a general Rule. As to Mr. *Trenchard*, the Character of *Aper* the *Roman* Orator ſuits him ſo much, that it ſeems made for him. —— Aprum *ingenio potius & vi naturæ quam inſtitutione & literis famam eloquentiæ conſecutum —— communi eruditione imbutus, contemnebat potius literas quam neſciebat: —— Ingenium ejus nullis alienarum artium inniti videretur.*

Dialog. de Oratoribus.

He was not fond of Writing; his Fault lay far on the other Side. He only did it when he thought it neceſſary. Even in the Courſe of the following Letters, he was ſometimes ſeveral Months together without writing one; though, upon the whole, he wrote as many, within about thirty, as I did. He wrote many ſuch as I could not write, and I many ſuch as he would not. But in this Edition, to ſatisfy the Curioſity of the Publick, I have marked his and my own with the initial Letters of our different Names at the End of each Paper. To him it was owing, to his Converſation and ſtrong Way of Thinking, and to the Protection and Inſtruction which he gave me, that I was capable of writing ſo many. He was the beſt Tutor that I ever had, and to him I owed more than to the whole World beſides.

I will

I will add with the ſame Truth, that, but for me, he never would have engaged in any Weekly Perſormance whatſoever. From any third Hand there was no Aſſiſtance whatever. I wanted none while I had him, and he ſought none while he had me.

His Notions of God were noble and refined; and if he was obnoxious to Bigots, it was for thinking more honourably of the Deity, and for expoſing their ſtupid, ſour, and narrow Imaginations about Him. There was more Inſtruction in three *extempore* Sentences of his upon this Subject, than in threeſcore of their ſtudied Sermons. He taught you to love God; they only to dread him. He thought the Goſpel one continued Leſſon of Mercy and Peace; they make it a laſting Warrant for Contention, Severity, and Rage. He believed that thoſe Men, who found Pomp and Domination in the ſelf-denying Example and Precepts of *Jeſus Chriſt*, were either Madmen, or worſe —— not in earneſt; that ſuch as were Enemies to Liberty of Conſcience, were Enemies to human Society, which is a frail Thing kept together by mutual Neceſſities and mutual Indulgencies; and that, in order to reduce the World to one Opinion, the whole World muſt be reduced to one Man, and all the reſt deſtroyed.

He ſaw, with juſt Indignation, the mad, chimerical, ſelfiſh, and barbarous Tenets maintained by many of the Clergy, with the miſchievous Effects and Tendency of theſe Tenets: He ſaw, as every Man that has Eyes may, that for every Advantage which they have in the World, they are beholden to Men and Societies; and he thought it downright Fraud and Impudence, to claim as a Gift from God, what all Mankind knew was the manifeſt Bounty of Men, and the Policy of States, or extorted from them; that Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction and Revenues could have no other poſſible Original; that it was a Contradiction to all Truth, to Chriſtianity, and to all Civil Government, to allow them any other; that the certain Effect of detaching the Prieſthood from the Authority of the Civil Magiſtrate, was to enſlave the Civil Magiſtrate, and all Men, to the Prieſthood; that theſe Claims of the Clergy to Divine Right and Independency, raiſed a Combuſtion, a Civil Schiſm in the State (the only Schiſm dangerous to Society) made the Laity the Property or the Enemies of the Clergy, and taught the Clergy avowed Ingratitude for every Bounty, Indulgence, Privilege, and Advantage, which the Laity, or any Layman, could beſtow upon them; ſince having all from God, they could conſider Laymen only as Intruders, when Laymen meddled with celeſtial

ſtial Rents, and pretended to give them what God had given them. I am apt to think that from this Root of ſpiritual Pride proceeds the too common Ingratitude of Clergymen to their Patrons for very good Livings. They think it Uſurpation in Laymen to have Church-Benefices in their Gift. Hence their known Abhorrence of Impropriations; and we all know what they mean, when they find ſo much Precipitancy and ſo many Errors in the *Reformation*. It was a terrible Blow to Church-Dominion, and gave the Laity ſome of their own Lands again.

Some will ſay, that theſe are only a Number of hot-headed Men amongſt the Clergy; and I ſay, that I mean no other: I only wiſh that the cool Heads may be the Majority. That there are many ſuch, I know and congratulate; and I honour with all my Heart the many Biſhops and Doctors, who are ſatisfied with the Condition of the Clergy, and are Friends to Conſcience and Civil Liberty; for both which ſome of them have contended with immortal Succeſs.

But whatever Offence the high Claimers of ſpiritual Dominion gave Mr. *Trenchard*, he was ſincerely for preſerving the Eſtabliſhed Church, and would have heartily oppoſed any Attempt to alter it. He was againſt all Levelling in Church

and State, and fearful of trying Experiments upon the Conſtitution. He thought that it was already upon a very good Balance; and no Man was more falſly accuſed of an Intention to pull it down. The Eſtabliſhment was his Standard; and he was only for pulling down thoſe who would ſoar above it, and trample upon it. If he offended Churchmen, while he defended the Legal Church, the Blame was not his. He knew of no Authority that they had, but what the Laws gave them; nor can they ſhew any other. The Sanctions of a Thouſand Synods, the Names and Volumes of Ten Thouſand Fathers, weigh not one Grain in this Argument. They are no more Rules to us, than the Oracles of *Delphos*, no more than a College of *Augurs*. Acts of Parliament alone conſtitute and limit our Church-Government, and create our Clergy; and upon this Article Mr. *Trenchard* only aſſerted what they themſelves had ſworn. Perſonally he uſed them with great Civility, where-ever he met them; and he was for depriving them of no Part of their Dignities and Reverſions. As to their ſpeculative Opinions, when he meddled with them, he thought that he might take the ſame Liberty to differ with them, which they took to differ with one another. For this many of them have treated his Name very barbarouſly, to their own Diſcredit. Laymen can ſometimes fight, and be Friends again. The Officers and Soldiers of

two

two oppoſite Camps, if they meet out of the Way of Battle, can be well-bred and humane to each other, and well-pleaſed together, though they are to deſtroy one another next Day. But, I know not how it happens, Clerical Heat does not eaſily cool; it rarely knows Moderation or any Bounds, but purſues Men to their Death; and even after Death it purſues them, when they are no longer ſubject to the Laws or Cognizance of Men. It was not more good Policy than it was Juſtice in theſe angry Men, to charge Mr. *Trenchard* with Want of Religion; as it is owning that a Man may be a moſt virtuous Man, and an excellent Member of Society, without it. But, as nothing is ſo irreligious as the want of Charity; ſo nothing is more indiſcreet.

As paſſionate as he was for Liberty, he was not for a Commonwealth in *England*. He neither believed it poſſible, nor wiſhed for it. He thought that we were better as we were, than any practicable Change could make us; and ſeemed to apprehend, that a neighbouring Republick was not far from ſome violent Shock. I wiſh that he may have been miſtaken; but the Grounds of his Opinion were too plauſible.

I have before owned that he was paſſionate; but he ſhewed it only in Inſtances where it was

not worth while to watch and reſtrain his Temper. In Things of Moment, or when he had a mind not to be provoked, no Man was more ſedate and calm. I have often ſeen him laugh a peeviſh Man out of his Peeviſhneſs, and without being angry, make others very angry. If he had a mind to dive into any Man's Deſigns, in which he was very ſucceſsful, or meant to gain any End upon him, it was impoſſible to ruffle him. He was only haſty, when he was inadvertent. There was a Rapidity and Emotion in his Way of Talking, which ſometimes made him thought warm when he was not. *Etſi vehemens, nondum iratus*; as I think *Tully* ſays of himſelf upon the like Occaſion. He was likewiſe apt to give quick Anſwers to impertinent Queſtions, and to mortify Men who he thought talked knaviſhly. Hence chiefly he was called a hot Man. Little Things ſometimes provoked him, but great Provocations ſet him a thinking; and he was capable of bearing great Loſſes, Oppoſition, and Diſappointments, with ſignal Temper and Firmneſs. He was very merry with thoſe who wrote ſcurrilouſly againſt him, and laughed heartily at what they thought he reſented moſt. Not many Days before he died, he diverted himſelf with a very abuſeful Book written by a Clergyman, and pointed perſonally at him; by a Clergyman highly obliged to his Family, and always

always treated with great Friendſhip by himſelf.

He had a noble Fortune, of which he took ſuch Care as a wiſe Man ſhould. He underſtood Husbandry and Improvements excellently, and every Place where he came was the better for him. But though he was careful to preſerve his Eſtate, he was no ways anxious to increaſe it. He kept a genteel and a plentiful Table, and was pleaſed to ſee it well filled: He had a great Number of Servants, and daily employed ſeveral Tradeſmen and many Labourers. So that of his whole yearly Income he ſaved little at the Year's End, not above Two or Three Hundred Pounds. This will appear ſtrange to moſt People, who generally believed that he ſaved great Sums: But I know what I ſay, and it is plain from the Perſonal Eſtate which he has left.

As to his Family, which I mention laſt, becauſe it is the laſt Thing upon which a wiſe Man will value himſelf; it is one of the ancienteſt in *England*, and well allied: His Anceſtor came over with *William* the *Norman*; and there has been a good Eſtate in the Name ever ſince. He left no Child, and his three Siſters are his Heirs. I know but one Family now remaining of the Name, Mr. *George Trenchard*'s of *Dorſetſhire*, a

Member of the Houſe of Commons; and I believe the Eſtate in both Families is worth near Ten Thouſand Pounds a Year.

He died of an Ulcer in the Kidneys, after an Illneſs of five Weeks and ſome Days; and he died like a wiſe Man, with great Reſignation and Calmneſs of Spirit, quite free from all falſe Fears or pannick Terrors, and without one Struggle or Convulſion. The Day before his Death he talked to me much and often of an Affair which regarded myſelf; and which, were I to mention it, would ſhew the great Concern and Tenderneſs that he had for me. He died in the Fifty fifth Year of his Age. I ſaw him expire, and theſe Hands helped to cloſe his Eyes; the ſaddeſt Office that ever they performed.

In his Perſon he was a ſtrong, well-ſet Man, but of a ſickly Conſtitution, and ſcarce ever in perfect Health. He thought too much, and with too much Solicitude: This without doubt impaired, and at laſt wore out, the Springs of Life: The Vigour and Activity of his Head cauſed him many bodily Diſorders. Whatever he did, he did intenſely; and no Man was ever more turned for the *hoc agere*. What *Livy* ſays of *Cato* the Elder, ſuits Mr. *Trenchard* extremely: —— *Verſatile ingenium ſic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres,*

diceres, quodcunque ageret. He had a manly Face, and a fair ſanguine Complexion; regular Features, a Look of great good Senſe, and a lively black Eye, ſo full of Fire, that ſeveral People have told me that they could not bear to look him in the Face. I have heard the ſame Obſervation made of his Father, who, by all Accounts, was a Gentleman of much Wit and Spirit.

To conclude: He had extraordinary Abilities, extraordinary Virtues, and little Failings, and theſe ariſing from good Qualities: He was paſſionate from the Quickneſs of his Parts; and his Reſentments aroſe from Things which his Heart abhorred. I will end his Character as *Livy* does that of *Cicero*. The Words are extremely pertinent: —— *Vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, & in cujus laudes exſequendas,* Cicerone *laudatore opus fuerit.* Fragm. Livii.

Thus much, I hope, I may be permitted to have ſaid of this great and upright Man, and my excellent Friend, before the following Work; and much more I could have ſaid. His Character was as little known, as his Name was much. Many Sorts of Men and Cauſes combined to miſrepreſent him. Some were provoked by his honeſt Freedom; others emulated his Reputation; ſome traduced him through Prejudice, ſome through Folly.

Folly. But no good Man that knew him thoroughly could be his Enemy; and what Enemies he had, Malice, or Misinformation, or his own Virtue, made.

The World has few such Men as Mr. *Trenchard*; and few Men in it will be missed so much. His Parts, his Spirit, and his Probity, will be remembered, and perhaps wanted, when the Prejudices raised against him will be dead and forgotten with the Passions that raised them.

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CATO's

CATO's LETTERS.

SATURDAY, *November* 5, 1720. No. I.

Reaſons to prove that we are in no Danger of loſing Gibraltar.

SIR,

AS I have heard, with Concern, the Report of our being in Danger of loſing *Gibraltar*, lately revived; ſo I had no ſmall Pleaſure to ſee, in the Generality of the People, a juſt Senſe of the great Importance of that Place to the Trade and Security of *England*.

All Men, in Truth, ſhew their Opinion of it, by the Fears which they expreſs about it; and if

we ſet aſide (as unworthy of mention) a few proſtitute Hirelings, who go about Coffee-Houſes to drop, as far as they dare, ſtupid and villainous Reaſons for giving it up: I ſay, excepting ſuch a contemptible few, I defy thoſe, who for vile Ends, or to make good vile Bargains, would gladly have it ſurrendered, to pick out of all the People of *England*, One honeſt, rational, and diſintereſted Man, to concur with them in it.

Thank God, in ſpite of the Folly of Parties, and the Arts of Betrayers, we ſee in all Men a ſteady, warm, and unanimous Spirit for the Preſervation of *Gibraltar*; and I hope to ſee ſhortly the Time, when we ſhall, with the ſame Frankneſs and Unity, exerciſe our Reaſon and our Eyeſight in other Matters, in which we are at preſent miſled, either by Infatuation, or falſe Intereſt.

There are two Things which ſurprize me in the many Apprehenſions which we have had about *Gibraltar*. The firſt is, the great Diffidence manifeſted by ſuch Fears: Men muſt be far gone in Diſtruſt, before they could come to ſuſpect, that their Superiors could ever grow ſo much as indifferent about a Place of ſuch Conſequence to their Country; and to ſuppoſe them capable of giving it up, is to ſuppoſe them capable of giving up *Portſmouth*, nay, *England* itſelf. Such Suppoſitions muſt therefore be unjuſt, and the Heighth of Ignorance or Spleen. Can it be imagined, that Men of Honour would forfeit their Reputation, Patriots ſacrifice a Bulwark of their Country, or wiſe Men venture their Heads, by ſuch a traiterous, ſhameful and dangerous Step.

But, ſay ſome, perhaps it will be ſuffered to be taken by Surprize; and then all the Blame will

will only reſt upon ſome obſcure Officer, who may eaſily be given up or kept out of the way, while thoſe who contrived the Roguery, and felt the Reward of it, will be as loud in their Reſentments, as others who love their Country well enough to grieve for its Diſgrace or its Loſſes.

I know, indeed, that all this has been ſaid more than once, and ſome plauſible Circumſtances urged, to ſhew that it was not abſolutely groundleſs. But, alas, what a poor Plot would here be! A Farce of Treachery and Nonſenſe, viſible to the weakeſt of Mankind, and only fit to raiſe Hatred and Contempt towards the wretched Framers of it. This would be to deal with us as with a Nation of Ideots, blind and inſenſible, who can neither ſee Day-light, nor feel Injuries, nor return inſolent Uſage. No, no, we are not as yet to be hood-winked by ſuch thin Schemes: We can ask, if need were, a few plain Queſtions, which would eaſily puzzle ſuch feeble Politicians; but at preſent we have no Occaſion.

All this, however, ſhews how much we are apt to ſuſpect foul Play in this, and many other Caſes of the like Nature; nor ſhall I now maliciouſly enquire, to what prevailing Cauſe ſuch Diſtruſt is to be aſcribed.

Another Thing at which I am apt to wonder is, that, conſidering how much our Credit is concerned to clear ourſelves from the Charge of any baſe Purpoſe, of being willing that *Gibraltar* ſhould be given away, we have not yet done it, at leaſt in any publick and ſatisfactory Manner. The miſtaken People will ſay, and have ſaid, that our Silence is a Confeſſion of our Guilt; and that if their Cenſures and Suppoſitions had not been

juſt, it was in our Power publickly to have confuted and removed them; neither of which we have done, but ſuffered Them to remain under painful Fears, and Ourſelves under the Suſpicion of neither regarding their Intereſt, nor their Eaſe, nor our own Credit.

Why did you not, ſay they, tell all the World how much you were wronged, and belied, in a Declaration, ſaid to be the *Regent*'s of *France*, which expreſly aſſerted, that a Bargain was made to give away *Gibraltar?* Why did you not demonſtrate, that you were at leaſt as willing to preſerve your own Towns, as to conquer Countries for other People, who are remarkable for doing you as little Service as they poſſibly can? Why did you ſuffer it to be ſuggeſted, with the leaſt Colour of Probability, that you would rather throw away what was your own, than procure for foreign Allies, at your Expence, what was none of theirs? Why do we fight, why conquer, if we muſt thus condeſcend to implore the Vanquiſhed, graciouſly to grant Peace to us the Conquerors, for which we will humbly pay them with Part of our Dominions? And how came Foreign States, moſt of them Slaves, to be more in your Favour, than Old *England*, which is a Nurſery of Freemen?

All theſe are malicious Queſtions, though I hope groundleſs; but as they are propoſed by many Thouſands of his Majeſty's Liege Subjects, in a modeſt and ſerious Way, methinks it would be a ſeaſonable Piece of Diſcretion and good Policy, to prove them groundleſs.

For God's Sake, let us anſwer, if we can anſwer; and if our Innocence can be ſhewn, as no doubt

doubt it can, let it be ſhewn. It will not even be enough, that *Gibraltar* is never given up, but we ought to purge ourſelves from the Imputation of ever having entertained ſo criminal an Intention. If we can do this, it will recover us ſome Part of the Credit and Confidence which we have loſt by not doing of it. I therefore hope, and humbly propoſe, that we may ſoon ſee ſome able and ſagacious Pen, inſtead of making *Panegyricks* upon us, make *Apologies* for us.

In the mean time, permit me to give here three unanſwerable Reaſons why *Gibraltar* cannot either be given up, or taken:

Firſt, Becauſe *Secretary Grimaldo* ſays it (*).

Secondly, It would make *South-Sea Stock* fall: And,

Thirdly, and *Laſtly*, We have wiſe and honeſt Governors.

G *I am*, &c.

SATURDAY, *November* 12, 1720. No. 2.

The fatal Effects of the South-Sea *Scheme, and the Neceſſity of puniſhing the Directors.*

SIR,

THE terrible Circumſtances of our *French* Neighbours, under the Plague in ſome Places, expecting it in others, and dreading it in all, is a loud Warning to us, to take all Expedients and poſſible Precautions againſt ſuch a formidable Calamity.

(*) *This Letter was written in* October 1720.

We have already had, and ſtill have, a Contagion of another Sort, more univerſal, and leſs merciful, than that at *Marſeilles:* The latter has deſtroyed, we are told, about Sixty Thouſand Lives; ours has done worſe, it has rendered a much greater Number of Lives miſerable, who want but the Sickneſs to finiſh their Calamity; either by rendering it complete, or by putting an End to them and that together.

Indeed, had the Alternative been offered us half a Year ago, I think it would have been a Symptom of Wiſdom in us to have choſen rather to fall by the Hand of God, than by the execrable Arts of Stock-Jobbers: That we are fallen, is a ſorrowful Truth, not only viſible in every Face which you meet, but in the Deſtruction of our Trade, the Glory and Riches of our Nation, and the Livelihood of the Poor.

But complaining does not mend the Matter; yet what ſenſible Heart can avoid complaining, when he hears his Country, a whole Country, a potent Nation, a Nation happy in its Climate, in its Prince, and in its Laws, groaning under mighty Evils, brought upon it by mean and contemptible Hands, and apprehending Evils ſtill more mighty? This gives Bitterneſs to a humane Spirit, though it ſuffer no otherwiſe than by Sympathy. Is there no Way left of doing ourſelves Juſtice, and has the Death of our Proſperity extinguiſhed all Senſe of our Injuries?

'Tis true, it is both prudent and religious in private Perſons, to ſtifle the Notions of Revenge, and calmly to expect Reparation from God and the Law: But Jealouſy and Revenge, in a whole People, when they are abuſed, are laudable and politick

politick Virtues; without which they will never thrive, never be eſteemed. How far they are to carry their Reſentments, I do not pronounce: The Meaſures of it muſt be determined by Circumſtances; but ſtill, keen Reſentment ought to be ſhewn, and ſome Puniſhment, or Puniſhments, inflicted. When the Dignity, or Intereſt of a Nation is at Stake, Mercy may be Cruelty.

To this Spirit of Jealouſy and Revenge, was formerly the *Roman* Commonwealth beholden for the long Preſervation of its Liberty; the *Venetian* Commonwealth owes its Preſervation to the ſame Spirit; and Liberty will never ſubſiſt long where this Spirit is not: For if any Crimes againſt the Publick may be committed with Impunity, Men will be tempted to commit the greateſt of all; I mean, that of making themſelves Maſters of the State; and where Liberty ends in Servitude, it is owing to this Neglect. *Cæſar* thought that he might do what he had ſeen *Marius* and *Sylla* do before him, and ſo enſlaved his Country: Whereas, had They been hanged, he would, perhaps, never have attempted it.

I bring theſe Examples to prove, that Nations ſhould be quick in their Reſentments, and ſevere in their Judgments. As never Nation was more abuſed than ours has been of late by the dirty Race of Money-Changers; ſo never Nation could, with a better Grace, with more Juſtice, or greater Security, take its full Vengeance, than ours can, upon its deteſted Foes. Sometimes the Greatneſs and Popularity of the Offenders make ſtrict Juſtice unadviſeable, becauſe unſafe; but here it is not ſo; you may, at preſent, load every Gallows in *England* with Directors and Stock-Jobbers,

without the Aſſiſtance of a Sheriff's Guard, or ſo much as a Sigh from an Old Woman, though accuſtomed perhaps to ſhed Tears at the untimely Demiſe of a common Felon or Murderer. A thouſand Stock-Jobbers, well truſſed up, beſide the diverting Sight, would be a cheap Sacrifice to the Manes of Trade; it would be one certain Expedient to ſoften the Rage of the People; and to convince them, that the future Direction of their Wealth and Eſtates ſhall be put into the Hands of thoſe, who will as effectually ſtudy to promote the General Benefit and Publick Good, as others have, lately, moſt infamouſly ſacrificed Both to their own private Advantage. Something is certainly due to both the former. The Reſurrection of Honeſty and Induſtry can never be hoped for, while this Sort of Vermin is ſuffered to crawl about, tainting our Air, and putting every thing out of Courſe; ſubſiſting by Lies, and practiſing vile Tricks, low in their Nature, and miſchievous in their Conſequences.

That a Multitude of Families are ruined, and ſuddenly ſunk from plentiful Circumſtances to abject Poverty, is affecting and lamentable; though perhaps all owing to their own raſh Confidence in the Management of known Knaves: That innocent Children, born, as they imagined, to fair Fortunes, and brought up accordingly, muſt now want Bread, or beg it, is a Cataſtrophe that muſt pierce every tender Heart, and produce Pity and Tears: But to ſee one's Country labouring under all the ſad Symptoms of Diſtreſs, without the Violence of War, without the diabolical Refinements of able Politicians; but purely from the dull Cunning of inferior Rogues, void of Bravery,

void

void of Abilities; Wretches that would run away in the Field, and be deſpiſed in Aſſemblies; this is what ſhould turn Pity into Rage, and Grief into Vengeance.

For a Nation to ſuffer itſelf to be ill uſed, is of dangerous Example; whether thoſe that uſe it ill be its Neighbours or its Natives. Patience, in this Caſe, invites freſh Injuries; and that People, who would not bear many unjuſt Burthens, muſt not bear one.

A Country, as I ſaid above, ought to do itſelf Juſtice with Speed, as well as with Vigour: Delay has often rendered a Cure impoſſible in the Body Politick, as well as in Human Bodies: By Delays, the Edge of Reſentment goes off, and the Offender has Leiſure to fortify himſelf by new Rogueries.

I would therefore have my Countrymen take Advantage of the Humour that they are in, and make a Virtue of their preſent Anger. Let them rouſe the bold Spirit of a free Nation; and ſhew by all Lawful and Loyal Means, that they who always ſcorned to be the Property of Tyrants, will not be the Prey of Stock-Jobbers.

G.

June, &c.

SATURDAY, *November* 19, 1720. No. 3.

The peſtilent Conduct of the South-Sea *Directors, with the reaſonable Proſpect of publick Juſtice.*

SIR,

A Man robbed in his Houſe, or on the Highway, receives from the Law all poſſible Satisfaction: He has the Reſtitution of his Goods again, where it can be made; he has the Life of the Offender, if he can be apprehended; and there is a plentiful Reward given for every ſuch Apprehenſion. By this ſalutary Method, Vengeance is at once taken for the Crime committed, and a terrible Example made of its Author, to prevent its Repetition.

The Law is the great Rule in every Country, at leaſt in every free Country, by which private Property is aſcertained, and the Publick Good, which is the great End of all Laws, is ſecured; and the religious Obſervance of this Rule, is what alone makes the Difference between good Laws and none. The Terror and Sanctity of the Laws, are ſhewn by the Execution of them; and to a Contempt of the Laws, or to a direct diſpenſing with them, have been owing moſt of the Shocks and Revolutions, that we have, for many Ages, ſuſtained in *England*.

Some Laws are, indeed, unwarily made, being procured by Paſſion, Craft, or Surprize; but ſuch are generally either ſuffered to wax obſolete,

or

or are repealed, as we have ſeen in many Inſtances, and may yet ſee in more.

But I ſpeak here of thoſe Laws which have a direct and known Tendency to ſecure to us what we have, and to preſerve us what we are: A free People are kept ſo, by no other Means than an equal Diſtribution of Property; every Man, who has a Share of Property, having a proportionable Share of Power; and the firſt Seeds of Anarchy, (which, for the moſt part, ends in Tyranny) are produced from hence, that ſome are ungovernably rich, and many more are miſerably poor; that is, ſome are Maſters of all Means of Oppreſſion, and others want all the Means of Self-defence.

What Progreſs we have lately made in *England*, towards ſuch a bleſſed State of Confuſion and Miſery, by the Credulity of the People, throwing their All upon the Mercy of baſe-ſpirited, hard-hearted Villains, miſchievouſly truſted with a Power to undo them, is too manifeſt from the woful Condition that we are in. The Ruin is general, and every Man has the miſerable Conſolation to ſee his Neighbour undone: For as to that Claſs of Ravens, whoſe Wealth has coſt the Nation its All, as they are manifeſt Enemies to God and Man, no Man can call them his Neighbours: They are Rogues of Prey, they are Stock-Jobbers, they are a Conſpiracy of Stock-Jobbers! A Name which carries along with it ſuch a deteſtable and deadly Image, that it exceeds all human Invention to agravate it; nor can Nature, with all her Variety and Stores, furniſh out any Thing to illuſtrate its Deformities; nay, it gains viſible Advantage by the worſt Compariſons that you can make: Your Terror leſſens, when you liken them to

to Crocodiles and Canibals, who feed, for Hunger, on human Bodies.

Theſe Monſters, therefore, ſtand ſingle in the Creation: They are Stock-Jobbers; they have ſerved a whole People as *Satan* ſerved *Job*; and ſo far the Devil is injured, by any Analogy that you can make between him and them.

Well; but Monſters as they are, what would you do with them? The Anſwer is ſhort and at hand, Hang them; for, whatever they deſerve, I would have no new Tortures invented, nor any new Death deviſed. In this, I think, I ſhew Moderation; let them only be hanged, but hanged ſpeedily. As to their Wealth, as it is the manifeſt Plunder of the People, let it be reſtored to the People, and let the Publick be their Heirs: the only Method by which the Publick is ever like to get Millions by them, or indeed any Thing.

But, ſay ſome, when did you ever ſee Rogues covered with Wealth, brought to the Axe or the Gallows? I own that the Example is rare, more is the Shame of this Nation, which has had ſuch rich Temptations, and ſuch frequent Opportunities; we have had publick Guilt in abundance, God knows, often protected by Party, and often by Money. Faction on one Side, and Riches on the other, have, as it were, made a Lane for the Great Criminals to eſcape. But all theſe Eſcapes, which are, indeed, our Reproach, cannot give any Ground to fear a preſent one.

This Nation has formerly been bought and ſold; but Arts were uſed to blind the People's Eyes, the Effects of the Treachery were not immediately felt; and we know that the Reſentment of the Vulgar never follows from their Underſtanding,

ing, or their Reflection, but from their Feeling: A Pick-pocket may tickle a plain Fellow's Ear, till he has got his Purſe; but if he feel it going, he will knock the Thief down.

We have felt our Pockets picked, and we know who have done it: Vengeance abides them.

I am told, that ſome of them have the Face to pretend, that they ought not to be put to Death; but we hope that the Legiſlature will effectually convince them, that this their Partiality to themſelves is groundleſs: All their Hopes of Safety muſt conſiſt in their Money; and without Queſtion, they will try to make the Wages of their Villainy protect their Villainy. But I cannot ſee how any Sums can ſave them; for as they have robbed and cheated all Men, except their Accomplices, ſo all Men are concerned to ſee Juſtice done to themſelves; and if the ordinary Channels of Juſtice could be ſtopped by Bags of Money, or by Partnerſhip in original Guilt, the enraged, the abuſed People, might be prompted by their uppermoſt Paſſion, and having their Reſentment heightened by Diſappointment, might, it is to be feared, have Recourſe to extraordinary Ways; Ways that are often ſucceſsful, tho' never juſtifiable.

Here are no Parties in this Caſe to diſguiſe Truth, and obſtruct Juſtice; the Calamity is general, ſo is the Reſentment: All are Sufferers, All will be Proſecutors. The Cry for Juſtice is loud and united; if it be baulked, I can propheſy no Good from ſo cruel an Omiſſion.

If this mighty, this deſtructive Guilt, were to find Impunity, nothing remains, but that every Villain of a daring and avaricious Spirit may grow a Great Rogue, in order to be a Great Man. When

ways oppoſed this mighty Miſchief; much leſs at the further Expence of the Honour and Trade of the Nation.

To ſet this Matter in a due Light, it is neceſſary to enquire what is meant by the Publick Credit of the Nation,

Firſt, Credit may be ſaid to run high, when the Commodities of a Nation find a ready Vent, and are ſold at a good Price; and when Dealers may be ſafely truſted with them, upon reaſonable Aſſurance of being paid.

Secondly, When Lands and Houſes find ready Purchaſers; and when Money is to be borrowed at low Intereſt, in order to carry on Trade and Manufacture, at ſuch Rates, as may enable us to underſell our Neighbours.

Thirdly, When People think it ſafe and advantageous to venture large Stocks in Trade and Dealing, and do not lock up their Money in Cheſts, or hide it under-ground. And,

Fourthly, When Notes, Mortgages, and Publick and Private Security will paſs for Money, or eaſily procure Money, by ſelling for as much Silver or Gold as they are Security for; which can never happen, but upon a Preſumption that the ſame Money may be had for them again.

In all theſe Caſes, 'tis abundantly the Intereſt of a Nation, to promote Credit and mutual Confidence; and the only poſſible Way effectually to do this, is to maintain Publick Honour and Honeſty; to provide ready Remedies for private Injuſtice and Oppreſſion; to protect the Innocent and Helpleſs from being deſtroyed by Fraud and Rapine.

But

But National Credit can never be ſupported by lending Money without Security, or drawing in other People to do ſo; by raiſing Stocks and Commodities by Artifice and Fraud, to unnatural and imaginary Values; and conſequently, delivering up helpleſs Women and Orphans, with the ignorant and unwary, but induſtrious Subject, to be devoured by Pick-pockets and Stock-Jobbers; a Sort of Vermin that are bred and nouriſhed in the Corruption of the State.

This is a Method, which, inſtead of preſerving Publick Credit, deſtroys all Property; turns the Stock and Wealth of a Nation out of its proper Channels; and, inſtead of nouriſhing the Body-Politick, produces only Ulcers, Eruptions, and often Epidemical Plague-Sores: It ſtarves the Poor, deſtroys Manufactures, ruins our Navigation, and raiſes Inſurrections, *&c.*

The firſt Loſs is always the leaſt; one half of the Nation is ruined already; I hope we may learn Wit from our Misfortunes, and ſave the other half: In order to this, we may expect, that no new Projects will be countenanced or received, which have any Tendency to prejudice Trade, or which cauſe Monopolies, or ſet up excluſive Companies; and that no Privileges or Advantages be granted, for which ready Money might be got.

Some People have the Aſſurance to publiſh it, for Example, That a certain Set of Stock-Jobbers, whoſe Faith and Modeſty are now well known and felt, expect, among other Gifts from the Publick, that the Iſland of St. *Chriſtophers* ſhould be given them, as a further Expedient to get more Wealth to themſelves, and leave the Nation none. Now, St. *Chriſtophers* is worth Three Hundred,

Hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling, and will yield ſo much: So that to preſent them with this Iſland, would be juſt making them a Preſent of Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds; a Sum almoſt ſufficient to make the Fortune of an Under *South-Sea* Clerk; but ſuch a Sum as this poor Nation cannot at preſent ſpare.

I hope, therefore, that it will no longer be impudently alledged, that by parting with ſuch Gifts, we loſe nothing; ſince that alone is worth nothing, for which nothing can be got. But the Caſe is otherwiſe here; and from the Nature of our publick Gaming, and the Spirit of the worthy Sharpers who direct it, I dare pronounce before-hand, that every Scheme which they themſelves propoſe, to make their Bubble and their Roguery thrive again, will ſtill be built upon the farther Expence, upon the farther Loſs and Miſery of theſe unhappy Nations.

If our Money be gone, thank God, our Eyes are left: Sharpened by Experience and Adverſities, we can ſee through Diſguiſes, and will be no more amuſed with Moon-ſhine.

The Nation and Parliament have been abuſed, and they will undoubtedly be revenged; they will not be put off with dark Juggling, with knaviſh Projects, to ſtifle Reſentments, and divert due Vengeance: There is no attending to any new Schemes, till the Publick Robbers are puniſhed, with whom there can never be any Accommodation.

To begin then, in the firſt place, with the Criminals, will ſhew that we are in earneſt Champions for Honeſty, for Trade, for the Nation, all oppreſſed by Money-Leaches. All other Reme-

dies

dies will be Mountebank Remedies: It would be Madneſs to concert new Schemes, liable to new Abuſes, without firſt doing Juſtice to the Abuſers of the old; Impunity for paſt Crimes is a Warrant to commit more, eſpecially when they are gainful.

Such mighty Miſchiefs as theſe Men have done, will be but meanly attoned for by ſuch infamous Lives, unleſs their Eſtates be alſo confiſcated; and even theſe, great as they are, will repair but part of our Misfortunes. But what we can have of them, let us have; their Necks and their Money.

To begin with any other Project, they will take for a Confeſſion, that there is a Deſign to ſave them; and to what that muſt be owing, we all know: What farther Evils it may produce, may even ſurpaſs our Fears, though already terribly great; but a Method of Juſtice preſently entered upon, and impartially carried through, will give us Patience under our Burdens, baniſh all our Fears, give Credit to the Publick Proceedings, and reſtore Hope to the almoſt deſpairing People.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *December* 3, 1720. No. 5.

A further Call for Vengeance upon the South-Sea *Plunderers, with a Caution againſt falſe Patriots.*

SIR,

THIS great Nation, undone by deſpicable Stock-Jobbers and their Abettors, has hitherto quietly groaned under the mercileſs Hands of its Pillagers, and lived for ſome Months upon the pure Hopes of Redreſs. We looked towards the Parliament: His Majeſty and his Miniſtry being abſent, and buſied with the Affairs of this Kingdom Abroad, in the glorious Aims of ſettling the Peace of *Europe*, in ſtrengthening the Proteſtant Intereſt.

The firſt Part of our Hopes is now almoſt accompliſhed, the Parliament are juſt upon meeting; and never, ſure, did ever Seſſion open with greater Expectation, or with more to do: Every thing is turned topſy-turvy; and the Nation, thrown into Convulſions, is waiting for the healing Hand of its Repreſentatives.

Many Expedients will, no doubt, be offered without Doors; calculated, in Appearance, to improve the Stock, but, in Reality, deſigned to ſave the Directors. This is to begin at the wrong End. To pretend to form Schemes for the encreaſing of Credit, before the Deſtroyers, the Canibals of Credit, are honeſtly and openly hung up to its Manes, is, in ſome ſort, to confeſs, that we had our Inſtructions and Politicks from the Criminals

mals themſelves, and our beſt and only Reaſons out of their Purſes.

Or if we be not thus wicked, we ſhould, at beſt, be miſerably weak to fall into ſuch a prepoſterous Method; and whether great and general Calamities have their Root in Roguery or Folly, is all one to a Nation.

In ſpight of all the Remedies that can be applied, Multitudes will ſtill remain undone beyond all Remedy: Nay, for ought I can ſee, there is no practical Remedy at all for what is paſt; ſo effectual has been the Roguery on one Side, ſo rivetted is the Ruin on the other.

All, therefore, that ſeems to me to be left, even to the united Wiſdom of *Great Britain*, is the Cure of Prevention, to ſtop the Progreſs of the Contagion, to take Care that thoſe who have already ſuffered, ſhall ſuffer no more, nor make new Sufferers: It is certain, that all Men have ſuffered in one Senſe or other, the Criminals excepted. It is hoped that the miſerable People will now be honoured with their good Company; and that the Box on the Ear, which wantonly began from them, will in good earneſt be returned to them, and end with them. It is ſome Conſolation to the Inhabitants of a Village, who have been bit all round by a mad Dog, to ſee the Inſtrument of the Poiſon, and the Author of their Pain and Danger, honeſtly hung up, or knocked on the Head.

The prevailing Woe which has long raged, and ſtill ſits hard and heavy upon us, has certainly ſome Authors; the Directors are generally taken to be theſe Authors; and if they be duly and publickly puniſhed, they will continue to be taken for the only Authors. But if there be nothing done

to

to them, or nothing effectually done, we ſhall naturally look farther, and make bold to know, that though they have been Rogues, yet that others had been greater than they; that others have directed the Directors, and were Partners in the Spoil.

But if they ſtand ſingle, and are found the only and original Plunderers of their Country, they will infallibly be given up to publick and crying Vengeance; not only by the Rules of Guilt, but of good Policy. A more popular Thing cannot be done, nor indeed ſo popular a Thing. The Bleſſings of the People, and the univerſal Affections of *Great Britain*, will be ſome of the Rewards attending upon thoſe who will be the generous Authors of publick Juſtice upon the deteſtable Authors of publick and intenſe Miſery.

I will never ſuppoſe that any Men, or even one Man in any publick Station, did by any Means join with Stock-Jobbers to undo their Country; much leſs enabled Stock-Jobbers to undo their Country, and ſupported them while they were about it. It would be melancholy and terrible, indeed, to imagine that any publick Men, at leaſt, any Man concerned in the Finances, or ſet over any Part of the publick Money, by which publick Credit is circulated and ſuſtained, ſhould, in Defiance of his publick Truſt, put himſelf at the Head of a Conſpiracy of Stock-Jobbers, who were, with mercileſs and unclean Hands, rifling the Publick itſelf, engroſſing all its Wealth, and deſtroying at once all publick and private Faith.

Such unprecedented Treachery, ſuch over-grown Guilt, can never be ſuppoſed. Our Corruptions cannot be yet become ſo bold and bare-faced, nor

we

we ſo tame. The Thing therefore, being ſo very monſtrous, muſt be impoſſible, whatſoever Suggeſtions there may be to the contrary; which, were they true, could not fail of calling down double and conſpicuous Puniſhment upon ſuch a *Verres*.

As to thoſe who lately encouraged the Scheme, out of an honeſt Purpoſe to relieve the Publick, and pay off its Debts, they ought, and no doubt will be the firſt and the moſt active to revenge the Publick upon thoſe, who, inſtead of relieving it, have brought the Publick into ſuch doleful and dying Diſtreſs.

By this, they will farther evince the Honeſty of that Purpoſe, and merit ſtill more to conduct our Affairs; and their Services will undoubtedly be remembred by the honeſt Freeholders of *England*, at a proper Seaſon, to their Advantage: Our Eyes are upon them, our Confidence is in them, and we wiſh them good Succeſs in this great Tryal of Integrity and publick Spirit.

I foreſee that there will be many loud in their Call for publick Juſtice, and yet be the firſt to prevent it. Their Avarice will arm their Tongues with Zeal, and a proper Preſent diſarm it of its Eloquence. However, the Outſide of publick Spirit will ſtill be kept on; they will be ſure to cry out to the laſt for Puniſhment, for ſevere Puniſhment; but they will be as ſure to find Fault with every Expedient propoſed for inflicting it. I could name ſome worthy Patriots, of many Words, and great Weight, who will act this Farce rarely. It will not be the firſt Time. —— What is human Life, but a Maſquerade? And what is civil Society,

ty, but a Mock-Alliance between Hypocriſy and Credulity?

Magna & miſera Civitas, eodem Anno tantas Injurias tantumq; Pudorem paſſa, inter Vineos, Fabios, Icelos, Aſiaticos, *varia & pudenda Sorte agebat; donec ſucceſſere* Mucianus, *&* Marcellus, *& magis alii Homines quam alii Mores.*

Theſe are the Words of a great Ancient, ſignal for his Wiſdom and ſtrong Obſervations. Had he lived now, and written in *Engliſh*, he would have written thus:

" Oh *London!* Oh *England!* Oh my Coun-
" try! How great! And yet how miſerable!
" What Reproach, what Calamities, what Ruin,
" haſt thou ſuſtained? Suſtained in the Space of
" One ſhort Year; and leſs than a Year! Suſtain-
" ed from the Dregs of Human Kind! From Fel-
" lows, vile in their Original; and as to their Spi-
" rit, Slaves! What opprobrious Deluſions, what
" deadly Revolutions, haſt thou ſuffered to be
" brought upon thee, by the ignoble Names and
" ſervile Hands of *B—t*, *L—b—t*, *H—b*, and
" the like Scum of the Vulgar! And after all this,
" art thou not weary, O my Country! of thy
" own Shame? Not yet ſatiated with Devaſtation
" and Havock? And wilt thou yet again try the
" old Knavery, managed by new Knaves?

G *I am*, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *December* 10, 1720. No. 6.

How eaſily the People are bubbled by Deceivers. — Further Caution againſt deceitful Remedies for the Publick Sufferings from the Wicked Execution of the South-Sea *Scheme.*

SIR,

NO Experience or Sufferings can cure the World of its Credulity. It has been a Bubble from the Beginning; nor is it a bit wiſer for this Diſcovery, but ſtill runs into old Snares, if they have but new Names, often whether they have or no.

Self-Love beguils Men into falſe Hopes, and they will venture to incur a hundred probable Evils, to catch one poſſible Good; nay, they run frequently into diſtracted Pains and Expences, to gain Advantages which are purely imaginary, and utterly impoſſible.

Were the Paſſions properly balanced, Men would act rationally; but by ſuffering one Paſſion to get the better of all the reſt, they act madly or ridiculouſly.

Our prevailing Paſſions in *England*, of late, have been Hope, Avarice, and Ambition; which have had ſuch a headlong Force upon the People, that they are become wretched and poor, by a ravenous Appetite to grow great and rich. Our Fear and Caution were poſtponed; and by a ſanguine Struggle for what we had not, we loſt what we had. Could ſuch Courage be inſpired by

Stock-Jobbing? A cowardly Science of mean Tricks and Lies!

Every Adventurer in this mighty Lottery foreſaw that many muſt be Loſers, and that what was got by one muſt be loſt by another; but every Man hoped that Fate would be kinder to him in particular, than to a Thouſand others; and ſo this mad Hope became general, as are the Calamities which it has produced.

This ſhews the little Power that Reaſon and Truth have over the Paſſions of Men, when they run high. In the late Revolution in the Alley, Figures and Demonſtration would have told them, and the Directors could have told them, that it was all Phrenzy; that they were purſuing gilded Clouds, the Compoſition of Vapour and a little Sunſhine; both fleeting Apparitions! Common Senſe could have told them, that Credit is the moſt uncertain and moſt fluctuating Thing in the World, eſpecially when it is applied to Stock-Jobbing; that it had long before been exalted higher than it could well ſtand, even before it was come to Twenty above *Par*; and therefore always tottered, and was always tumbling down at every little Accident and Rumour. A Story of a *Spaniſh* Frigate, or of a few Thieves in the dark Dens of the *Highlands*, or the Sickneſs of a foreign Prince, or the Saying of a Broker in a Coffee-Houſe; all, or any of theſe contemptible Cauſes were able to reduce that ſame Credit into a very ſlender Figure, and ſometimes within her old Bounds: But particularly, they might have ſeen, that it was now mounted to ſuch an outrageous Height, as all the Silver and Gold in *Europe* could not ſupport; and therefore when People came in any

any conſiderable Number to ſell, (and to ſell was the whole End of their buying) it would have a dreadful Fall, even to the cruſhing of the Nation. This has ſince dolefully happened: Our Hopes, which were our Ruin, are gone; and now we behold nothing but the Face of the Mourner.

But in ſpight of this Miſchief, produced by Credulity, by manifeſt and ill-grounded Credulity, it is much to be feared that ſome little Art and big Promiſes would make us repeat it, and grow mad again. This ſeems evident, not only from the Folly and Feebleneſs of human Nature, ever the Prey of Craft, and ever caught with Shadows; but from our endleſs gaping after new Projects, and our Eagerneſs to run into them. We have been bruiſed in a Mortar, but we are not wiſer; while one Ruin is yet upon us, we are panting after another, perhaps worked up by the ſame Hands, or by other Hands with the ſame Views.

O the Weakneſs and Folly of Man! It is like a Whirlpool, which deſtroys and drowns not by Halves, but when a Part is drawn in, the Whole follows.

Surely the Pleaſure is as great,
Of being cheated, as to cheat!

Elſe Men would not be ſuch Dupes, as every where they are. Whoever would catch Mankind, has nothing to do, but to throw out a Bait to their Paſſions, and infallibly they are his Property. This Secret is well known to corrupt Courts, who flatter or frighten their obeying believing Vaſſals into all the Exceſſes of Miſery and Obeiſance. By This, Standing Armies have been maintained; by This, wild Wars have been waged; by This, an idle,

expenſive, abſurd, and cruel Popiſh Hierarchy has been ſupported.

Once more, O wretched Man! Thou willing Inſtrument of thy own Bondage and Deluſion; even Mountebanks know this Secret of cajoling thee, and picking thy Pocket; nay, worſe than Mountebanks, Stock-Jobbers know it.

When a People are undone, it is ſome Conſolation to reflect, that they had no Hand in their own Ruin, or did all that they could to prevent it, by the beſt Counſels that they could take, or by the braveſt Defence that they could make. But alas, poor *England!* thou haſt not that Conſolation: Thou haſt not fallen by able Traytors; thou art not the Victim of deep Deſign, or artful Treaſon; nor art thou the Price of Victory in the Field; neither art thou out-witted by the ſubtle Dealers in Myſtery and Diſtinction, nor in this Inſtance deceived by their falſe Alarms.

No, we have no ſuch palliating Reflection to reconcile us to our Miſery, or to abate its Pangs: To our deathleſs Shame, we are the Conqueſt, the Purchaſe of Stock-Jobbers. The *Britiſh* Lions crouch to a Neſt of Owls! Can we ſurvive the Remembrance without Revenge?

But all this is complaining, will ſome ſay; and we want Remedies, rather than Complaints: To bewail our Calamities, is indeed natural; but to extricate our ſelves out of them, is neceſſary. Here are Two Hundred Millions of Imaginary Property loſt, and at leaſt Twenty Millions of Real Property plundered from the Honeſt and Induſtrious, and given to Sharpers and Pick-pockets: Shall theſe Rooks be ſuffered to enjoy it? And ſhall the Bubbles be redreſſed out of other Mens Eſtates, no wiſe

wiſe chargeable with the Miſchief? Or muſt we proſtitute the publick Honour of the Nation to draw in other People (no way concerned) to take the bold Bargains of raſh Men and Dupes off their Hands? But if none of theſe Methods be taken, our Cullies muſt ſit down with their Loſs, or the Traytors be forced to diſgorge.

If we make new Schemes, or diverſify the old, till Doom's-Day, there will be no paying Twenty Millions without Twenty Millions, or without what is Equivalent to Twenty Millions; which will be the ſame Thing to the Nation as the parting with Twenty Millions.

The Payment therefore will either be a real Payment, or a ſham Payment; and in this Caſe, if *caveat emptor* (let the Buyer look to it) be a good general Rule in the Buſineſs of Bargains and Sale, it will be a good Rule here too.

If we have any State-Chymiſts, who have Art enough to make Millions evaporate into Smoak, yet I muſt beg leave to doubt their Skill at conſolidating Smoak into Gold.

I hope that I ſhall not be underſtood, by what I have ſaid, to oppoſe an Attempt to redeem us out of our preſent wretched Condition. On the contrary, I ſhall be the firſt to Vote that Man a Statue of Gold, who can ſtrike out an honeſt and ſkilful Expedient for our Recovery, which I own is far paſt my own Skill: I am no Candidate for the Golden Statue.

By all this, I would only caution my Countrymen not to be caught again; let them beware of new Snares. As to the Loſers, they have not a great deal to expect; and I can ſay no more to

them here, than that in Countries where the Plague rages, the Preſervation of the Whole is the principal Care; the Infected are for the moſt part left to take care of themſelves; and I never heard it ſuggeſted, that Nine Millions of People ought to be expoſed to the mortal Contagion of that Diſtemper, to preſerve a few Individuals.

G

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *December* 17, 1720. No. 7.

Further Cautions about new Schemes for Publick Redreſs.

SIR,

BEware of the firſt Step, will be allowed by all Men, who have any Skill in human Affairs, to be a commendable Caution in all Proceedings of Moment. In how many Inſtances do we ſee, that Things which begin plauſibly, end tragically? People have been often enſlaved by Princes created by themſelves for their Protection, often butchered by Armies raiſed by themſelves for their Defence. The late *French* King, whenever he was going to ſhed the Blood of his People in any wanton War, though undertaken to gratify his Luſt of Power, or to exalt his own Houſe, never failed to let them know, in an Edict made on purpoſe, that it was all for their Good and Proſperity; that is, they were to ſuffer Slaughter Abroad, Oppreſſion and Famine at Home, purely for their own Advantage and Felicity.

General

General Propoſitions are for the moſt part dangerous, and intended to ſupport Conſequences, which, at firſt View, they do not ſeem to mean and imply. They are, therefore, generally plauſible in Appearance, to catch Conſent; from which Conſent, when it is once got, new Advantages are taken, which were not foreſeen; and freſh Articles are added, which were not known to have been deſigned.

In the late long War with *France*, What was more deſirable, what more plauſible, than *Peace?* A Bleſſing ſo univerſally underſtood to be one, that the loweſt Vulgar wanted no Words nor Perſuaſions to know its Excellency! And when we were inſulted with this Queſtion, *What, will you not treat?* To have ſaid *No*, would have been an Anſwer ſo invidious, that ſcarce any Man durſt make it; yet all wiſe Men then knew, that to conſent to a Treaty at that Time with *France*, conſidering the Perſons and their Intereſts who were to manage it, was to conſent to a Conſpiracy againſt *England* in particular, and to plot againſt all *Europe* in general: We were ſtunned with the Word *Peace*; nor could we ſtand it, though we knew it was hatching Treaſon. In ſhort, to Treat, as ſoft a Phraſe as it was, ſignified neither more nor leſs, than to give to old *Lewis* his wicked Will of all *Europe*, and to the *Tories* their *Pretender*.

Take another Inſtance. In the preſent *Spaniſh* War, which, we are aſſured, wants nothing but a Form to conclude it, we cannot forget the loud Atteſtations that were every where given us, *That to declare War was ſufficient alone to end the War, and to frighten the* Spaniards *into a Peace:* And

who, among us, would not willingly be at the Expence of a Piece of Paper, and of the Heralds Lungs, to ſcare a turbulent and enterprizing Court, as was that of *Philip*, into Moderation and Quietneſs? But the Obſtinacy of *Spain*, the Length of that War, our great Charge in Men and Money to ſupport it, and the Condition of our Fleet, worn in the Service of our Allies, or eaten by Worms in the *Mediterranean*, are all ſufficient Leſſons to us, how little we ought to have truſted to ſuch Aſſurances, or to the Word of thoſe that gave them.

Take a Third Inſtance. Upon the Eſtabliſhing of the preſent *Eaſt-India* Company, it was reaſonably urged, That ſuch a Company would be no other than a Confederacy of cunning Fellows, againſt fair and general Trading, by monopolizing to a few the ſole Traffick and Riches of a great Continent. To which it was anſwered, That there was no ſuch Deſign; but that every Man who would ſubſcribe his Name in their Books, and comply with ſome eaſy Conditions, would be frankly admitted to ſhare in their Trade. But this was all Hypocriſy or Lying; for no ſooner had the Projectors, by ſuch petty Pretences to publick Honeſty, got the better of Oppoſition, and cooked up their Project, but it was found that their Trade was impracticable to all but themſelves: Every Trader was obliged to come into the Joint-Stock; and all Attempts ſince, for the publick Good, have proved ineffectual againſt ſo formidable a Society.

We have a Fourth Inſtance from the firſt Inſtitution of the *South-Sea*, It was at firſt pretended, that every Proprietor was to have Six *per Cent.* for his

his Money, without Trouble or Deductions; and need not engage in the Trade, unleſs he choſe it. This drew in a great Multitude to vouch for the Scheme, and encourage it; but in paſſing the Bill, it was found that the crafty Managers had lopt off One *per Cent.* to be applied, as they pretended, to carry on the Trade of the Company, and all were obliged to join in the Chimerical Aſſiento; by which they have ſince pillaged the Proprietors of a Million and a Half. — *See the vaſt Advantage of loſing by Trade!* A Secret well known to the Directors!

The Fifth Inſtance may be taken from the ſame *South-Sea.* What a rare Sugar-Plumb to the Nation, was a Scheme ſo finely calculated to pay off the Nation's Debts! What a tempting Bait was here! Even thoſe who ſaw whither it miſchievouſly tended, and perceived the deceitful Hook under it, could not ſtand the Scorn and Rebukes of the Many, who ſwallowed it without ſeeing it. What fatal Devaſtation and Poverty it has ſince produced, by the unparalleled Treachery of the Directors, and ſome that are worſe than they, the miſerable People feel much more ſenſibly than I can expreſs, pierced as they are with the keen Arrows of mercileſs Villainy, and unrelenting Diſtreſs. We have undone our ſelves to pay our Debts, and our Debts are not paid. What ſhall I ſay? We had once Bread, Money, and publick Faith: But now! What remains to us? I cannot anſwer. —— Our Grief, our Folly, our Loſſes, our Diſhonour, our cruel Uſage, are too big for Words.

I have ſaid ſo much, to prove how wary we ought to be in going into *new Schemes.* We

ought at leaſt to know the Whole of them, before we conſent to a Part. It will alſo behove us to have an Eye to the Quarter from whence they come; whether they be Directors, or their Maſters, and Confederates; or Men of fair and upright Characters, whoſe Souls are honeſt, and their Hands clean. As to thoſe who are known to have promoted the mighty Cheat, and the Ruin of their Country; their Infamy is ſo glaring, that, ſince they will not have Modeſty and Remorſe enough to hold their Tongues, and to forbear meddling with the Concerns of a People beggared by them, we ought to mind no more what they ſay, than the Judge did the Houſe-breaker, who, upon his Tryal, told his Lordſhip, that he *would ſwear the Peace againſt him, for putting him in Fear of his Life.*

The ſame may be ſaid of thoſe that are fallen in with the Guilty, and unexpectedly ſpeak the ſame Note. We gueſs at their Motives. The powerful Getters would ſave themſelves, by letting others get as much; and perhaps are glad to divide their Gains, to eſcape Puniſhment.

If any Man would be the unſuſpected and fair Author of a new Project, he can recommend it and himſelf no better, than by ſhewing it to be honeſtly conſiſtent with the Puniſhment of our Million Knaves, the Blood-Suckers of *England*. A new Scheme, and an Inquiſition into the Management of the old one, may both ſucceſſively go on at the ſame Time; and they who ſay that they cannot, do but own that they are afraid they ſhould. Are they conſcious to themſelves, that the Directors may hope to eſcape Part of their Puniſhment, by fathering upon others a great

Share

Share of their Guilt, or rather the firſt Power of being guilty?

What mean ſome Men by ſaying, We ought to extinguiſh the Fire, before we inquire into the Incendaries? Are They ſome of theſe? Or did they furniſh out Brands to the reſt? Or would they give them Time to run away? The Truth is, the Houſe is already burned down, many are burned to Death, all are miſerably ſcorched: The Flame has in a manner waſted itſelf; but thoſe that talk thus, ſeem eager to revive it, by new Devices to ſtir the Embers. All that we can now do, is to build the Houſe again, if we can; and hang thoſe that fired it, which we are ſure we ought. Beſides, we have long known who did it; they have been taken in the Fact at Noon-day, and every Day. This Thing was not done in a Corner, nor at once, nor by one; the Villainy was deliberate, gradual, and open.

Theſe Gentlemen do however confeſs, that the Houſe has been ſet on fire; which Confeſſion they would doubtleſs be glad to avoid, if they could: But the Miſery is ſorely felt, and all *Europe* are Witneſſes of it. Can they therefore, after an Acknowledgment that the Nation has been burned, have the Face to be contriving Ways to delay the Puniſhment of the Burners? Has Self-Love no Share in this? And by the Delay of the Puniſhment of others, do they not as good as avow, that they tremble for themſelves? For my part, I can ſee no Difference in this Caſe, between delaying it, and fruſtrating it.

The Expedients for retrieving us, if we can be retrieved, are certainly compatible with Expedients for revenging us; and the latter will facilitate the for-

former. It will give Life to the poor Bankrupt Heart-broken People, if they ſee that their Deſtroyers meet due Vengeance, and that they are like to be no more the Prey of daring Parricides.

G

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *December* 24, 1720. No. 8.

The Arts of able guilty Miniſters to ſave themſelves.— The wiſe and popular Conduct of Queen Elizabeth *towards publick Harpies; with the Application.*

SIR,

THERE is not in Politicks a more eſtabliſhed Rule, than, *That when a corrupt and wicked Miniſtry intend to pillage a Nation, they make uſe of vile and contemptible Inſtruments, to gather in their Plunder, and allow the Miſcreants Part of it; and when the Cry for Juſtice becomes ſtrong and univerſal, they always hang up their faithful Rogues.* By this Means they ſtop the People's Mouths, and yet keep the Money.

But they act by no Rule of good Policy, but are, in Truth, chargeable with Folly, or rather with Phrenzy, who dream that they can prevent this Cry, by the Means that firſt raiſed it, and by Means that will ever produce it. As well might they attempt to prevent the ſpreading of a Deluge, by damming it up; which would prove the direct Method to make a whole Country its Conqueſt; for it will then know no Bounds, but bear down Men,

Men, Beaſts, and Cities before it; whereas its Force and Miſchief are eaſily prevented, if proper Channels be opened for it, and its Torrent be skilfully directed.

The ſimple Multitude, when moſt provoked, are eaſily appeaſed, if they have but Fuel for their Rage: They will ſcarce feel their Miſeries, if they do but fancy that Juſtice is done upon the Authors of their Miſeries. And whatever they ſuffer; the Hanging of a few ſorry Knaves, who are but the Working-Tools of a few Greater, will huſh all the Tumult of their Spirits, and reconcile them to Patience and Wretchedneſs.

This Expedient, therefore, to pleaſe them, is conſtantly practiſed by all wiſe Traytors, by all able Oppreſſors. But when, through the Ignorance of their Pillagers, the Courſe of Juſtice is entirely ſtopt; when the abuſed and enraged People can have no Remedy, either real or imaginary, nor one Victim to their Fury, they will naturally and neceſſarily look higher; and then who can foreſee where their Vengeance will end?

If a Pirate, who robs upon the Sea, be hanged for his Robbery, every Body is ſatisfied with the Death of the Offender: But if the Action be avowed, and he produce a Commiſſion, the State that gave it becomes anſwerable.

All theſe Secrets in Government were excellently underſtood by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Miniſtry. Out of her Hiſtory I have therefore copied the following Paſſage, and the following Speech.

" The Queen, upon her Return from a Pro-
" greſs, held a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; where-
" in, among other Things, ſeveral good Laws
" were

" were made for the Relief of the Poor, and of " maimed and diſabled Soldiers and Seamen; a- " gainſt fraudulent Guardians and Truſtees; the " Cheats and Impoſitions of Clothiers; and the " Robberies and Outrages committed upon the " Borders of the Kingdom towards *Scotland*. But " whereas great Complaints were made in the " Lower Houſe, relating to the Engroſſing Prac- " tice:" (for it ſeems there were ſome, who, under the Colour of Publick Good, but, in Reality, to the great Damage of the Kingdom, had got the Queen's Letters Patents, for the ſole Privilege and Liberty of vending ſome particular Sorts of Wares:) " The Queen therefore, to foreſtall " them, publiſhed a Proclamation, declaring thoſe " Grants to be null and void; and alſo left them " to be tried at Common Law. A Method " which was ſo acceptable to the Lower Houſe, " that Eighty of that Body were appointed to wait " upon her Majeſty with their humble Thanks, " which the Speaker was to preſent in the Name " of them all. She received them very graci- " ouſly, and gave her Anſwer in the following " Speech:

Gentlemen,

" I Owe you my beſt Thanks and Acknowledg- " ments for your Reſpect towards me; not on- " ly for your good Inclination, but thoſe clear " and publick Expreſſions thereof, which have " diſcovered themſelves in retrieving me from a " Miſtake, into which I have been betrayed; " not ſo much by the Faults of my Will, as the " Error of my Judgment. This had unavoidably " drawn a Blemiſh upon me, (who account the

" Safety

" Safety of my People my chief Happineſs) had
" you not made me acquainted with the Practice
" of theſe lewd Harpies and Horſe-Leeches. I
" would ſooner loſe my Heart or Hand, than
" ever conſent to allow ſuch Privilege to En-
" groſſers, as may turn to the Detriment of my
" People. I am not ſo blinded with the Luſtre
" of a Crown, as to let the Scale of Juſtice be
" weighed down by that of an Arbitrary Power.
" The gay Title of a Prince may deceive ſuch
" as know nothing of the Secret of Governing;
" as a gilded Pill may impoſe upon the Patient:
" But I am not one of thoſe unwary Princes;
" for I am very ſenſible, that I ought to govern
" for the Publick Good, and not to regard my
" own Particular; and that I ſtand accountable
" to another, a greater Tribunal. I account
" myſelf very happy, that, by God's Aſſiſtance,
" I have enjoyed ſo proſperous a Government in
" all Reſpects; and that he hath bleſſed me with
" ſuch Subjects, for whom I could be contented
" to lay down my Crown and Life. I muſt en-
" treat you, that let Others be guilty of what
" Faults and Miſdemeanors ſoever, they may
" not, through any Miſrepreſentation, be laid at
" my Door. I hope the Evidence of a good
" Conſcience will, in all Reſpects, bear me out.
" You cannot be ignorant, that the Servants of
" Princes have, too often, an Eye to their own
" Advantage; that their Faults are often conceal-
" ed from their Notice; aud that they cannot,
" if they would, inſpect all Things, when the
" Weight and Buſineſs of a whole Kingdom lies
" on their Shoulders.

Here

Here is a Speech, worthy of the Occaſion, worthy of a wiſe Prince, worthy of a free People; a Speech that has Truth, and Senſe, and Spirit in it. We may be ſure, from the Frankneſs and Vigour of it, that the Miniſters who adviſed it were no Sharers in the Guilt and Oppreſſion of which it complains: If they had, they would have choſen Words more faint and equivocal; they would have ſhuffled in their Aſſertions; they would have talked more cowardly; they would have kept off from Particulars: They could not have hid their Guilt and Fears. But here their Boldneſs is the Effect of their Innocence, and prompted by it.

Her Majeſty frankly owns, that ſhe was drawn into an Error; but that it was only an Error of her Judgment, ſhe makes manifeſt by her Alacrity and Forwardneſs to puniſh thoſe Harpies and Horſe-Leeches, who, in her Name, had abuſed the Publick: She owns it juſt, that thoſe Engroſſers ſhould ſuffer: She owns that the Art and End of Reigning, is to advance the Publick Good; and when that Good is not attained, ſhe conſigns to Puniſhment thoſe Rooks and Traytors, through whoſe Fault it is not attained. She owns that ſhe has been abuſed by her Servants; who, under her Authority, and in the Name of the Law, had ſought their own vile Advantages; and ſhe removes from herſelf all Guilt, by giving up the Guilty.

Happy Queen! happy in her own Qualifications; happy in thoſe of her Counſellors: But wiſe and good as ſhe was, ſhe could not have talked thus, if her Miniſtry had been weak or wicked: Had this been her Misfortune, in ſpite of her Sincerity,

cerity, Wiſdom and Reſolution, her Speech would have been falſe, faint, and ſilly. But her Counſellors were able and faithful, and made *England* proſper; and if we except ſome Rebellions, and ſome Perſecutions, both the Doings of hot-headed Bigots, her People ſaw nothing during her whole Reign but Felicity and Sunſhine.

This has entailed Bleſſings upon her Memory, and Praiſe upon that of her Counſellors: And, indeed, the Happineſs or Miſery of a People will always be the certain Meaſure of the Glory or Infamy of their Rulers, whenever ſuch Happineſs or Miſery is evidently deducible from their Management.

The above Paſſage out of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Hiſtory, I thought not impertinent to our preſent Times: Her People had ſuffered from Harpies and Horſe-Leeches: This ſhews, that the Corruption had not reached the Court; the Hands of her Miniſters were clean, elſe her Speech would have taken another Turn.

Has *England* ſuffered leſs, in this our Day, from Harpies and Horſe-Leeches? Surely no: — All our Loſſes, Pillages, and Oppreſſions, ſince the Conqueſt, do not balance the preſent great Calamity: From a Profuſion of all Things, we are reduced to a Want of every Thing: Heaven avert the Peſtilence and the Famine! — I am afraid that the latter begins to be ſorely felt by many Thouſands of our Poor, and even the Rich complain that they can hardly find Money to buy Bread.

And ſhall not our Harpies be given up? Shall not their Blood and Money make an undone Nation ſome ſmall Amends for their heavy Depreda-

tions

tions and matchleſs Villainy? Certainly they muſt: From a Miniſtry as able, and as innocent, as that of Queen *Elizabeth*, we may expect the Behaviour and publick Spirit of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Miniſtry: Having no Part in the Guilt of Harpies, they cannot dread the Vengeance due to Harpies: They have not raiſed out of their Country's Calamities, Fortunes great as thoſe Calamities; they have no Diſcoveries to dread; they have no Guilt to hide; they have not conſpired with Harpies.

G

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *December* 31, 1720. No. 9.

Againſt the projected Union of the Three Great Companies, and againſt remitting to the South-Sea *Company any Part of their Debt to the Publick.*

SIR,

THE moſt ſucceſsful Deluders and Oppreſſors of Mankind have always acted in Maſquerade; and when the blackeſt Villainies are meant, the moſt oppoſite Spirit is pretended. Vice acts with Security, and often with Reputation, under the Vail of Virtue.

Hence Atheiſts have ſet up for the greateſt Piety; and, to cover their own real Want of it, have cruelly burned thoſe who really had it. The moſt mercileſs Tyrants have, in the midſt of Oppreſſion ſet up for the Patrons of Liberty; and, while their Hands were deep in Blood, impudently adopted the Title of Clemency; and Publick Liberty

berty has almoſt always been given up by thoſe, who paſſed for the Patrons of Publick Liberty.

The cheating religious Orders of the Church of *Rome* gain the greateſt Wealth, by a Profeſſion of the ſtricteſt Poverty. The Popiſh Inquiſitors, while they deliver over to the Flames a poor Wretch, already half dead with Fears, Famine, and Torture, beſeech and adjure the Civil Magiſtrate, who muſt ſee it done, by the Love of God, and the Bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, not to hurt his Life or Limb. And our Inquiſitors at Home, began their *Occaſional Bill* with a Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience; though the Purpoſe of them, and their Bill, was to deſtroy all Liberty of Conſcience.

Companies and Joint-Stocks are always eſtabliſhed for the Encouragement and Benefit of Trade; though they always happen to marr and cramp Trade. The *Peerage Bill* was to be granted as a Favour to the Commons of *England*, by cutting off the Commons of *England* from all Right to Peerage. And ſome People, to ſave Charges to *England*, are for giving up *Gibraltar*, which is of ſuch Advantage to *England*; being the Security of all our Trade. *Sweden* was once to be deſtroyed, to preſerve the Balance of Power in the *North*; and now *Sweden* muſt be defended, for the very ſame Reaſon.

When certain Chiefs were at mortal Odds, one Side oppoſing (at all Adventures) whatever the other projected, it was thought convenient to both Sides to come to Terms; for one Party wanted to fill their Coffers, and the other to ſave their Bacon. However, the Good of the Publick was their ſole Aim: They, Good Men! ſought no Perſonal

Perſonal Advantages, though they have ſince got conſiderable ones: But we muſt believe their Sayings, notwithſtanding their Doings.

Stock-Jobbing too muſt be declared againſt, whilſt the greateſt Stock-Jobbing is promoting. Laſt Year a *South-Sea* Project was to be eſtabliſhed to pay off the National Debts; and now a Project is ſaid to be in Embryo, to remit the greateſt Part of the Debt due to the Nation by the *South-Sea:* And if ſo, the whole Nation is to ſuffer this general Loſs, out of mere Pity to a ſmall Part of the Nation. Twelve Months ago Forty Millions was not too much to be truſted with one Company, high in Credit, and its Reputation hoiſted up by publick Authority; but now, when they are bankrupt and undone, and when their Directors and Undertakers are univerſally hated and deteſted, it is to be feared, it ſeems, that they will become too formidable, if all the Stock ſubſcribed into them be continued with them.

There is, therefore, I am told, a Project on Foot, in *Exchange-Alley*, to deliver up the Nation to Three Companies; and to let them divide us, their Cully, among them. In order to prevail upon theſe Three Great Societies to accept us as a Preſent, to be uſed as they think fit, I humbly preſume that we muſt behave ourſelves as follows: We can do no leſs than ſacrifice the poor half-ſtarved Manufactures to one of them, and oblige ourſelves to lay no Reſtraint upon *India* Callicoes, *&c.* We muſt alſo confirm the Clauſe which makes that Society perpetual. New Trades, more Monopolies, and freſh Privileges, muſt be given to another Great and Virtuous Company, which had made ſo good Uſe of the Old: And the *Bank of England*,

England, which long preſerved its Integrity, muſt be bought into the Conſpiracy; and without doubt ſomething more muſt be given them, perhaps the Increaſe of their Term.

Now, if this mighty Project, this noble Deſign, can be accompliſhed; I ſuppoſe that every one will ſee, or be prevailed upon to ſee, the abſolute Neceſſity why all paſt Errors, and former Management, ſhould be forgot; becauſe Publick Credit, which depends upon Temper and Moderation, muſt not be interruped by ill-timed Enquiries, nor diſturbed by Publick Vengeance.— How finely we are to be diſpoſed of; and how ſafe it is to provoke us!

The Projectors of ſuch a Publick Good muſt deſerve well from their Country; and I will give City Security, that they ſhall be no Loſers by it. Where is the Wonder, or ill Policy of the Plunderers and Diſhonourers of the Nation, if the Betrayers of their Truſt ſhould keep a little ill-begotten Wealth, to preſerve the publick Peace? Without doubt, they will give large Shares of their Prey to thoſe who have Power to let them keep the reſt; and will readily help their Projectors and Coadjutors with their honeſt Skill and Endeavours, to form new Projects, to get as much as they have done.

There lives in a certain Kingdom, a certain Gentleman, of no mean Importance there at preſent, who was Agent to one who had the Cuſtodium of a forfeited Eſtate there, worth Twelve Thouſand Pounds a Year; and when he gave in his Account to his Succeſſors, brought the Eſtate ſome Hundreds of Pounds in Debt to himſelf. The other reſented this with ſome menacing Expreſſi-

ons,

ons, but could get no other Anſwer from him, but that he would abide by his Account: *However*, ſays he, *if you will be diſcreet, I will help you to the Man that helped me to this Account.*

But what now, if, after all, there ſhould be a little Jobb in a Corner; and if any Gentleman, of remarkable Merit, ſhould have Amends made for his Services, Sufferings, and Loſſes of late Years? Why, there is nothing uncommon in it; for, *who will ſerve the Lord for nought?* This certainly can be no Reaſon for rejecting a Project, which will reſtore publick Credit, fill the Alley again, raiſe *South-Sea* Stock to Three or Four Hundred, and help the preſent Proprietors to new Bubbles; without doing any other Miſchief, than that of ruining a few Thouſand Families more, and of not paying off the Nation's Debts.

Theſe, I confeſs, are potent Reaſons; and will, without doubt, have their due Weight with all Perſons intereſted. But, for myſelf, who am ſo unfortunate as often to differ from my Betters, I can find nothing in this Propoſal, which has any Tendency to help the preſent Company, or to raiſe Credit, in any Reſpect, or to retrieve us from our Great and National Calamities; but, on the contrary, to plunge the Publick inevitably into irretrievable Ruin, by making it impoſſible, by any Medium in Nature but that of a Spunge, to diſcharge our National Burthens: It will, beſides, deprive us of our only colourable Pretence, which could juſtify or excuſe the late dreadful Scheme; and which, I believe, I may ſafely ſay, was the only Pretence ever offered to excuſe it. I think that it will be Lifting the Three Great Companies, with all the moneyed Intereſt in *England*, againſt

againſt *England*; and will, at laſt, reduce, and even force, all Parties not to oppoſe what I dread to name, and tremble to think of.

The Project above-mentioned is calculated, we are told, for the Advantage of the *South-Sea*, and for the Improvement of their Stock; and, in order to this, a great Part of that Stock is to be given away to the *Bank of England*, and to the *Eaſt-India* Company; without any apparent Conſideration to themſelves, or any other Uſe to the Publick, than the uniting the Three Great Companies in one Intereſt; and conſequently, the forming ſuch a potent Conſpiracy againſt the whole Kingdom, as nothing but a total Confuſion of all Things can diſſolve. O Companies, Companies! ye Bane of Honeſty, and Ruin of Trade; the Market of Jobbers, the Harveſt of Managers, and the Tools of Knaves, and of Traytors!

It is propoſed, that the *South-Sea* is to give the *Bank* an Hundred and Twenty Pounds for every Hundred Pound of Stock in the *Bank*; which Stock is ſaid to be but barely worth Ninety Pounds; even though we ſhould ſuppoſe that they had never divided any of their Principal: Which, whether they have done it or not, no body but themſelves can know: But at this Rate, however, they muſt divide, whenever they are paid off by the Government.

But we are told, that they are to be let alſo into the Profits of Banking; from which Profits, 'tis ſaid, that they are enabled to divide Three *per Cent.* upon the Old Capital, beſides the Five *per Cent.* paid them by the Government: But, even upon this Foot, the greater their Capital is, the leſs they will

will be able to divide: And conſequently, when Nine Millions are added to their Old Capital, they will not be able to divide much above One *per Cent.* which is not the Intereſt of the Money paid in Difference between Ninety, which is the real Value, and an Hundred and Twenty, which is the nominal Value.

Beſides, there is no Probability that the *Bank* can continue to make, for the future, the ſame Gain of Banking, as heretofore. The Trafficking in publick Tallies, from whence that Gain chiefly aroſe, will be at an End, unleſs there be new Funds given, and new Debts contracted.

The Contract propoſed by theſe People, to be made with the other Company, is ſtill worſe; for, there they are to give a Hundred and Twenty Pounds for a Hundred Pound Nominal Stock, which is ſuſpected to be worth very little; ſome Men being of the Opinion, that the greateſt Part of the Ten *per Cent.* divided for ſome Years paſt, has been pocketed out of other People's Money, borrowed by the Company upon their Bonds: And yet for this choice Bargain, they are to give Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds at preſent, and ſubject Nine Hundred Thouſand Pounds more to be diſpoſed of according to the Pleaſure, Skill, and Honeſty of the preſent Directors. A pretty Sum, and doubtleſs ſet apart to anſwer and accompliſh ſome lovely Jobb, which will appear in proper Time, and by which the Projectors of the Scheme I dare ſay will be no Loſers!

'Tis ſaid too, that the Trade of this Company may be enlarged; I ſuppoſe they mean, by bring-

ing

ing in more *India* Manufactures, to the Ruin of our own.

Now all this we are given to underſtand is for the ſole Benefit of the *South-Sea*; and if they have not Senſe to conceive it aright, a worſe Thing may befall them: We all know, what Directors and their old Patrons carry Halters about their Necks, though they have Millions in their Pockets; and who would not give away a little of other People's Money, to ſave a great deal of their own, with their Lives into the Bargain? — A ſpecial Set of Traytors, to negociate for the very Being of a Kingdom!

But I muſt tell all theſe Forgers of Schemes, and Inventers of Grievances, that the Nation, exhauſted by paſt Projects, cannot bear new ones, nor furniſh out more Millions to glut more Harpies. The Want of Bread, long felt by the Poor, begins now to be felt by the Rich. The Purſes therefore of the New Conſpirators muſt be filled out of the Extortions and Depredations of the Old, or remain empty; they may rack their Invention, ſift every Topick of Knavery, and toſs and change their Projects as much and as long as they pleaſe, but we know that nothing but plain Honeſty can ever ſave us; and to thoſe who would practiſe Honeſty, plain Speech is beſt. Let us honeſtly hang up thoſe who have deceived and undone us, and let us beware of new Deceivers and new Deſtroyers: Let us, with a Severity equal to our Diſtreſs, examine what the Directors and their Maſters have embezzled, and loſt to their Country, by their mercileſs Villainy, and conſuming Avarice; and let us have the only Satisfaction that they can make us, their Lives,

and their Eſtates: Let, afterwards, a fair Valuation be made of their preſent Capital, and let all the World know it; that the Purchaſer may buy ſolid Subſtance, and not a fleeting Shadow. This is the honeſt Way to reſtore Credit again; this will prevent the roguiſh Part of Stock-Jobbing; and this will throw the remaining Money into Trade once more.

But what, may ſome ſay, if we ſhould give away from the *South-Sea* Company ſome Millions to make new Friends, and to ſave our old Friends, ſo long as we can make that Company Amends out of the Publick, for ſuch a Loſs? A Thing eaſily done! — It is only giving them back again the Seven Millions already due by them to the Publick; or at leaſt the greateſt Part of thoſe Seven Millions, as the ſame ſtand ſecured upon Forty Millions; and if we do this, behold the Advantage that will accrue from it! We will then be under no Neceſſity of hanging our Countrymen, or calling up any to diſgorge their honeſt Gains: Beſides, it is to be hoped that this Propoſal will be backed with ſuch powerful Motives, as to meet with little Oppoſition.

This calls to my Mind a Compariſon, which I have been for ſome time very apt to make, between the *French* Projectors and thoſe of another Country which I know. The firſt plunder for the Publick; the other plunder the Publick: The one robs Part of the People for the Whole People; the other robs the Whole People for a ſmall Part of the People.

This Compariſon may be the Subject of another Letter to you, if you think fit to print this.

T *I am, &c.*

T U S.

TUESDAY, *January* 3, 1720. No. 10.

The Iniquity of late and new Projects about the South-Sea *conſidered — How fatally they affect the Publick.*

SIR,

WHEN we compare one Nation with another, and balance the Power of both, we are not to conſider alone the Number of People, or the Wealth diffuſed amongſt the People; though Number and Wealth are undoubtedly the firſt Elements of Power in a Commonwealth; no more than we are to conſider the mere Extent of Territory, or the mere Fertility of Soil: But we are chiefly to conſider, how much of that Wealth can be brought together, how it may be moſt frugally managed, and how moſt skilfully applied to the publick Emolument and Defence.

If, in taxing Labour and Manufactures, we exceed a certain Proportion, we diſcourage Induſtry, and deſtroy that Labour and thoſe Manufactures. The like may be ſaid of Trade and Navigation; they will bear but limited Burthens: And we find by Experience, that when higher Duties are laid, the Product is not encreaſed; but the Trade is loſt, or the Goods are run.

Nor can more be extorted from the Gentleman and Freeholder, than he can ſpare from the Support of his Family, in a Way ſuitable to his former Condition.

one hopes to ſave one, by cheating another into a hard and knaviſh Bargain. Will Men never have done Hopeing? They forget how they were caught laſt Year in the *South-Sea*, with all their Hopes and their Wiſdom about them.

It is, doubtleſs, the laſt Misfortune to a Nation, to be beholden to a Spunge for the Payment of its Debts; ſuch a Neceſſity muſt be a heavy Neceſſity, attended with many ſorrowful Circumſtances, and much ſore Diſtreſs. Nothing but the certain Fear of foreign Force, or domeſtick Tyranny, can juſtify it. But even a great Calamity is eligible, in Compariſon of a greater. Every Perſon, therefore, who is a Creditor to his Country, and has Demands upon the Publick, is nearly concerned to prevent ſuch great and perſonal, and indeed general Miſery; which cannot be at all prevented, but by putting the National Debts into a Method of being honourably diſcharged. This is the Concern of every honeſt Man; this ought to be the Care of every worthy Citizen; this will be the Task of every guiltleſs Great Man.

All innocent Men, throughout the World, find a private Bleſſing in the general Felicity of the Publick; and none but Mock-Patriots, who fooliſhly or deliberately can lead Kingdoms into Ruin; deſperate hard-hearted Parricides, who can wantonly ſuck out the Vitals of their Country, whoſe Fortunes are often the Plunder of the Publick, whoſe Creatures are Conſpirators, hired againſt the Publick; I ſay, none but ſuch Traytors can find private Joy in publick Confuſion, or their own Security in the Slavery of their Country. Thoſe, it is true, who earn Vengeance by committing

ting mighty Crimes, would, doubtleſs, go on to reſemble themſelves, and to avoid it, if they could, by committing Crimes ſtill more mighty. If any amongſt us ſhould be capable of practiſing ſuch great Wickedneſs to get enormous Wealth, ſuch Perſons, if not prevented, might ſtill practiſe greater to keep it. A Fox purſued by the full Cry of the Hounds, will run into the Dog-Kennel for Shelter; as at the Battle of *La Hogue*, the *French* Fleet fled through the Race of *Alderny*, and ventured Rocks and Shelves, to eſcape from the conquering Enemy.

It is a Folly, and indeed an Infatuation, in any Perſons intereſted in the Publick Funds, to form any Schemes, or to fall into any Schemes for increaſing thoſe Funds, or for continuing in them, any longer than is abſolutely neceſſary to pay them their Debts: When our neighbouring Nations have cleared theirs, we too muſt clear ours, or we are undone. 'Tis ſaid, indeed, that a Revolution in Government would certainly and effectually do it, and do it at once; and this I take to be the true Reaſon why ſo many unthinking Men appear to wiſh it; though I hope it is in vain. God avert ſo dreadful a Cataſtrophe!

Spain has already diſcharged itſelf of its publick Burthens, by a general Sweep: And behold the Effect of this! It again ſhews its Head in the World; again it carries its Armies into new Countries. *Holland* lies ſtill, free from new Broils, and freſh Expence: It politically pleads Poverty: It takes all Ways in its Power to recover its Loſſes; and queſtionleſs laughs in its Sleeve to ſee another Nation grow more mad, and more in Debt every Year; to ſee it every Year mortgaging new Reve-

nues, and every Year engaging in wild Wars, to ſupport the Intereſts of a State of no Concernment to it.

But the moſt terrible Inſtance of all, is that of *France:* That Government, though to the Ruin of great Multitudes of other People, has almoſt, if not quite, got rid of its Incumbrances and Engagements. The whole Wealth of that great Kingdom is now got into the Hands of the Publick. From which formidable Situation of theirs, is there not Room to fear, that as ſoon as the preſent Confuſion is a little abated, they will renew their Deſigns for Empire, and throw *Europe* into Arms again? This is an alarming Reflection! And what do the Gentlemen of the Alley expect from us, under ſuch an ill-boding Circumſtance? Trade is already burthened as much as it can bear, and perhaps more than it ought to bear: There is ſcarce a Commodity that can be taxed, but is already taxed. We are marked, we are mortgaged from Head to Foot. They do not ſurely expect that the Parliament will give Ten Shillings in the Pound upon Land, or that it could be raiſed if they did.

What therefore are we to do in ſuch a calamitous Caſe? Are we to ſave ourſelves at the Expence of the Gentlemen of the Alley? Or are we to periſh together with them? The Choice is eaſy. Can they be ſo weak, as to form a pretended Neceſſity, to bring their Country into ſuch unhappy Circumſtances; and yet not fear that wiſe and honeſter Men may take Advantage of a real Neceſſity, to get out of ſuch unhappy Circumſtances?

There is but one Thing to be done, to ſave themſelves and their Country together; and that

is,

is, to put the Debts into a Method of being certainly and ſpeedily paid off. The preſent Eſtabliſhment may be ſaved, though they are undone: But if, through Folly or Knavery, the Eſtabliſhment ſink, they muſt ſink with it. I hope therefore, that they will not be decoyed into any traiterous Deſigns of deſperate Men: Men, whoſe Characters are but faintly expreſſed by that of Parricides; Men, who, had they ſtudied the Art of making us miſerable, could not have been more accompliſhed in their Trade, nor boaſt of compleater Succeſs. Where is our Trade, by which we ſo long flouriſhed? It is loſt. Where is our Publick Faith, once our own Boaſt, and the Envy of foreign Nations? It is fled; and one Man has no longer any Faith in another. Where is our Money? Where are our current Millions? The People have none. — The moſt Part find it hard to buy Bread; and many find it impoſſible. Every Man whom you meet complains that he is undone. All our Coin is engroſſed, pocketed by vile Jobbers, their Prompters and Confederates; publick Robbers, who, to keep what they have got, and to eſcape deſerved Puniſhment, (if ſuch Puniſhment can poſſibly be found) would deliver up the Wealth and Power of *England* into the griping and polluted Hands of a new Conſpiracy of Stock-Jobbers, worſe than the laſt, by being more numerous and potent. With theſe they would combine for common Defence, and for publick Deſtruction; with theſe, contrive new Ways to enlarge our Miſeries, ſhorten our Enjoyments ſtill more, and grind us ſtill ſmaller; with theſe, they would form into ſuch a Confederacy againſt their common Country, and againſt com-

mon Honeſty, as would mock even the Endeavours of a Legiſlature to diſſolve it. Good God! what implacable Men! thus mercileſly bent to ruin the very Ruins of their Country!

What *Briton*, bleſſed with any Senſe of Virtue, or with common Senſe; what *Engliſhman*, animated with a publick Spirit, or with any Spirit, but muſt burn with Rage and Shame, to behold the Nobles and Gentry of a great Kingdom; Men of Magnanimity; Men of Breeding; Men of Underſtanding, and of Letters; to ſee ſuch Men bowing down, like *Joſeph's* Sheaves, before the Face of a dirty *Stock-Jobber*, and receiving Laws from Men bred behind Counters, and the Deciſion of their Fortunes from Hands ſtill dirty with ſweeping Shops!

Surely we ſhall never ſuffer this to be our Caſe, and therefore ſhall never ſee it. It is ridiculous to think that a Nation, free as we are, and bold by being ſo, will ever ſubmit to ſuch Indignities: It is therefore eaſy to foreſee, if once we fooliſhly take the firſt Step, what will neceſſarily be the next. One Oppreſſion cannot be ſupported but by another, and a greater; and Force and Violence alone can do what Reaſon cannot and will not do. Theſe Hardſhips will produce new Wants, and new Neceſſities for Money; which Money, if ſuch Men can have their Will, will only be to be had from theſe Companies, and from them only upon hard Conditions, and in Exchange for new Privileges, ſtill tending to the Detriment of general Trade, and ending in the total Ruin of the Nation.

The Nation will be provoked in Proportion as it is diſtreſſed; ill Uſage will be returned with Rage:

Rage: And then, I doubt not, when theſe Projectors have rendered the People diſtracted, they will tell us, that it will not be ſafe to venture them with another Election. They will do every thing in their Power to make the Kingdom diſaffected; and then urge that Diſaffection as a good Reaſon not to truſt them.

This Conduct will produce neceſſarily more and higher Diſcontents; Diſcontents will make Armies neceſſary; Armies will inflame thoſe Diſcontents ſtill more vehemently. I dare think no further. — But ſure there is no one who loves King *GEORGE*, and his Government, but will endeavour to prevent theſe diſmal Miſchiefs, before it be too late.

No Man living laments the Calamities brought upon his Country, more than I do thoſe brought upon mine: Yet I freely own, that I think the paying off the Nation's Debts, and reſtoring, by that Means, the Kingdom to its Power, its Grandeur, and its Security again, was an End worth all the Evils which we have yet ſuffered; an End which ought, if poſſible, to have been purchaſed with greater than we have yet ſuffered, if it could not otherwiſe have been purchaſed. I think that it ought to have been done, though attended with many ill Circumſtances; and might have been done, even upon thoſe hard Terms, with Juſtice to private Men, and Honour to the Nation. We are not a People without it; nor is it worth while to diſpute about the beſt Cabbin in a Ship that is ſinking.

This Proſpect gave me ſome Pleaſure, and ſome Relief to my Thoughts, made anxious by the melancholy and importunate Clamours of Thouſands

ſands and Ten Thouſands of my diſtreſſed Countrymen: But when I was told that a Project was formed by Men of Figure, Power, and Fortune, to give back All, and the only Advantage which we were to reap, or could reap, from ſo many Miſeries, and which could alone palliate or excuſe ſuch a wild and deſperate Attempt; though this was the only Excuſe which was ever offered, or can yet be ſuggeſted by the wiſeſt Men in behalf of it; I confeſs that I was ſeized with Horror and Confuſion from ſuch News, and could ſee nothing before my Eyes but total Deſolation and final Ruin.

To tell us, that this is to be done out of Tenderneſs to the Miſerable, is adding Contempt to the Injury: It is inſulting our Underſtandings, and playing with the publick Misfortunes; it is firſt to make us Beggars, then to treat us like Idiots. With as much Modeſty did a grand Monarch, who was known to make himſelf Sport, for above half a Century, with the Lives of Men, pretend to ground his Deſire of Peace upon a conſcientious Inclination to prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood.

Thoſe who have true Compaſſion, Virtue, and Tenderneſs, will ſhew it upon the propereſt Objects; they will prefer the Security and Welfare of many Millions to the Security and Welfare of ſome Thouſands, though they ſhould be many Thouſands; eſpecially if the latter prove to have been covetous and unthinking Men, caught in the Snare which they ſpread for others: For by theſe wild Bargains no Man is undone, but he who intended the Favour of being undone to ſomebody elſe. Theſe Gentlemen, pretending to ſo much

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Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, will not at leaſt ſacrifice thoſe who always foreſaw the Miſchief, and always oppoſed it, to the Relief of ſuch who contributed to it; who made corrupt Applications for an early Admittance into the Advantage of the Secret; who ſwallowed Plumbs in their Imaginations, and ridiculed as Fools or Beggars all that kept at a wiſe and honeſt Diſtance.

Pity and Compaſſion are charming and engaging Sounds, when rightly applied; but Pity and Compaſſion do not conſiſt in protecting Criminals from Juſtice, and in ſuffering the Devourers of a Nation to go off with the Plunder of a Nation; nor in oppreſſing the People over again, to make the Loſer Amends: Neither do they conſiſt in giving away the publick Treaſure of Nations to private Men, for no Reaſon, or for very bad Reaſons; nor in engaging a Kingdom in wild and romantick Expences, to ſerve wild and romantick Purpoſes; neither do they conſiſt in ſacrificing the Trade and Manufacture of a whole People, and in conſequence the Bread of a whole People, to the deſtructive Intereſts of Societies of Stock-Jobbers, combined with publick Plunderers for mutual Defence.

Our wiſe and diſintereſted Legiſlature mean other Things; they have told us, that they will not relieve one Part of the diſtreſſed and deluded Bubbles, to the Detriment of others, who have as much Pretence to Relief as themſelves; and it is impoſſible to imagine that they will give up the unoffending and almoſt deſpairing People (whoſe Intereſts they are choſen to aſſert) to repair the Loſſes of unwary Men, and to put Thirty Millions in the Pockets of Twenty Stock-Jobbers.

Can

Can it be ſuppoſed, that the Parliament will refuſe to make void haſty and private Bargains, founded in Corruption and Fraud, and made without any one honeſt Conſideration? And ſhall this Refuſal be made for the Publick Good? And yet ſhall that very Parliament be thought capable of making void a publick Bargain, made for the publick Good, with the greateſt Deliberation, and upon the weightieſt Motives in the World? Which Bargain was indeed the chief, if not the only Cauſe, that drew upon us our preſent great Calamities.

But we are told by the Projectors, that the Company is not able to pay the Publick the Sum ſtipulated; and the King muſt loſe his Right, where his Right is not to be had. This is imprudently as well as ſtupidly ſaid; for the Security is already in the Hands of the Publick: The Nation owes the Company near Forty Millions, and nothing is neceſſary but to ſtop the Payment of Seven.

But it is farther urged by the Projectors, that the Company will be undone, if ſo much be ſtopt from them; and I aver, that the Nation is undone, if it be not ſtopt.

Here a very pleaſant Obſervation offers itſelf: For this very ſame Project, which would mercifully remit to the *South-Sea* Company the Seven Millions due by them to the Publick, is intended to raiſe a Hundred Pounds of their Capital Stock to Three or Four Hundred Pounds in Value; I will ſuppoſe only to Three Hundred; and even then their preſent Capital being about Twenty-ſix Millions, the whole will be worth about Eighty Millions; and ſurely, if the Publick give them

ſuch

ſuch an immenſe Advantage, they may well afford to pay the ſmall Sum of Seven Millions due to the Publick out of it. Our own Laws, and the Laws of every Country in the World, give Precedence to the Prerogative, in the Buſineſs of Debtor and Creditor; and always ſecure the Debts due to the Publick, whatever becomes of thoſe due to private Men. Surely we ſhall not reject the Wiſdom of Nations, and invert the Maxims of Government, that while we confirm the Bargains of particular Men, we deſtroy thoſe made for the Benefit of all the Men in the Kingdom.

But there is yet ſomething more abſurd in this Project: For the Bargain was made with the Old Company, who were to give Three Millions and a Half, certain, to the Publick; and about Three Millions more, if they could purchaſe in the Annuitants: Which Sum they could have afforded to the Publick, if they could but have raiſed their Stock Thirty *per Cent.* upon the whole Stock ſo united: But we have, in Fact, ſeen its imaginary Value encreaſed, at one time, more than Two Hundred Millions; which has enabled thoſe in the Secret to carry off more than Twenty, if not Thirty Millions.

Valuing the Stock, at preſent, at Two Hundred, which is leſs than the Stock ſells for, the old Capital alone is advanced near Twelve Millions above its firſt Value; and conſequently is able to pay Seven, without the Aſſiſtance of the new Subſcribers: And, if the Projectors of the Scheme advance the Stock to Three or Four Hundred, as they pretend that they will; then the firſt Contractors, and thoſe who ſtand in their Places, will double or treble their Capital; though they alone were

were to pay the Publick the poor Conſideration which has enabled them to do ſo.

Hard Fate of poor *England*, to be thus the laſt regarded, even in Schemes and Deliberations which purely regard *England!* Private Men, who have been bubbled, are to be pitied; but muſt private Men, who have contributed to the publick Ruin, and their own, be regarded preferably to the Publick? And muſt publick Compaſſion be ſhewn to private Dupes, rather than to the Publick itſelf?

Poor *England!* What a Name art thou become! A Name of Infatuation and Miſery! How art thou fallen! how plundered! And thoſe that have done it, would, to keep their Spoil, agree to aſſiſt others to ſqueeze out thy laſt Dregs, and to ſuck out thy remaining Blood. How paſſive do they think thee! How tame would they make thee! An eaſy Prey for Devourers; who, while they hold thee faſt, and gripe thee hard with Iron Claws, aggravate thy Miſery, by mocking it, and inſolently talk of Compaſſion.

What keener Indignities can they do us, than thus to jeſt with us, while we are gaſping, while we are expiring, in the midſt of the Pangs and Convulſions into which they have wantonly and wickedly thrown us!

Odd is that Compaſſion which ariſes from Guilt and Avarice; and with how much Modeſty would they chriſten, with the deluding Title of Pity, that Conduct, which would prove in effect to be only Impunity to the Murderers of our Proſperity, and the Manglers of their Country! Thus would they inſult our Underſtanding, and deal with us as if we had none.

How

How long ſhall we ſuffer under this pungent Uſage? this painful Diſgrace to our Senſe and our Spirit? Patience under Indignities, invites freſh Indignities. We ſee our Parricides do, as it were, take Pains to invent new Miſeries for us.—A hard Task! conſidering thoſe that they have already accompliſhed. Nay, they act as if they deſpaired of making us deſperate.

They may be miſtaken. And indeed, in the whole String of their Politicks, I could never diſcover any one Symptom of their Skill in Human Nature, except that which they learned from Brokers and Pedlars in Stocks.

In Truth, Matters are come to that Paſs, that an Endeavour to make them worſe, may probably make them better: *Res nolunt male adminiſtrari.* All Men ſuffer; all Men are alarmed: Reſentment rages high, and gathers thick from all Quarters; and though it may ſeem big with ſome terrible Event, yet it may be prevented by Anticipation.

Our Eyes are upon the Parliament, and ſo are the Eyes of *Europe.* We have begun to conceive Hope from the bold and upright Spirit which appears in our Repreſentatives to right us and to revenge us. They have, indeed, a great and unprecedented Opportunity given them, of ſecuring to themſelves, in the Hearts of all *Engliſhmen*, a Monument of grateful Praiſe and publick Spirit, and of perpetuating that Praiſe in the Memory of every *Briton*, till Time ſhall be no more.

T *and* G *I am*, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *January* 7, 1720. No. 11.

The Juſtice and Neceſſity of puniſhing great Crimes, though committed againſt no ſubſiſting Law of the State.

SIR,

Salus Populi Suprema Lex eſto: That the Benefit and Safety of the People conſtitutes the Supreme Law, is a univerſal and everlaſting Maxim in Government: It can never be altered by municipal Statutes: No Cuſtoms can change, no poſitive Inſtitutions can abrogate, no Time can efface, this primary Law of Nature and Nations. The ſole End of Mens entering into political Societies, was mutual Protection and Defence; and whatever Power does not contribute to thoſe Purpoſes, is not Government, but Uſurpation.

Every Man in the State of Nature had a Right to repel Injuries, and to revenge them; that is, he had a Right to puniſh the Authors of thoſe Injuries, and to prevent their being again committed; and this he might do, without declaring before-hand what Injuries he would puniſh. Seeing therefore that this Right was inherent in every private Man, it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that National Legiſlatures, to whom every Man's private Power is committed, have not the ſame Right, and ought not to exerciſe it upon proper Occaſions.

Crimes being the Objects of Laws, there were Crimes before there were Laws to puniſh them; and yet from the Beginning they deſerved to be puniſhed

puniſhed by the Perſon affected by them, or by the Society, and Number of Men united with him for common Security, though without the Sentence of a common Judge (called by us the Magiſtrate) formally appointed to condemn Offenders.

Laws, for the moſt part, do not make Crimes, but ſuit and adapt Puniſhments to ſuch Actions as all Mankind knew to be Crimes before. And though National Governments ſhould never enact any poſitive Laws, never annex particular Penalties to known Offences; yet they would have a Right, and it would be their Duty, to puniſh thoſe Offences according to their beſt Diſcretion; much more ſo, if the Crimes committed are ſo great, that no human Wiſdom could foreſee that any Man could be wicked and deſperate enough to commit them.

Lawyers diſtinguiſh betwixt *Malum prohibitum* and *Malum in ſe*; that is, between Crimes that are ſo in their own Nature, and Crimes that owe their Pravity to a Diſobedience to poſitive Laws. Of the former Sort are all thoſe Actions, by which one Man hurts another in his Reputation, his Perſon, or his Fortune; and thoſe Actions are ſtill more heinous, if they injure, or are intended to injure, the whole Society.

The latter Sort conſiſts of ſuch Crimes as reſult from what Legiſlatures enact for the particular Benefit of private Societies; as Laws concerning the Regularity of Trade, the Manner of chooſing Magiſtrates, Local Orders; and from ſuch poſitive Inſtitutions, as receive their Force alone from the Powers that enact them. Now thoſe Crimes were not ſo before they were declared ſo; and

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conſequently, no Man before was under any Obligation to avoid them.

It would be very ſevere and unjuſt to puniſh any Man for an undeſigned Tranſgreſſion of the latter Sort; that is, for ſuch Actions as he thought that he might lawfully and honeſtly do, and which he had never Notice given him not to do. But to infer from thence, that a Villain may deſpiſe all the Laws of God and Nature, ruin Thouſands of his Fellow-Subjects, and overturn Nations with Impunity, becauſe ſuch Villainy was too monſtrous for human Foreſight and Prevention, is ſomething ſo abſurd, that I am aſhamed to confute it.

This is nothing leſs than aſſerting, that a Nation has not a Power within itſelf to ſave itſelf: That the Whole ought not to preſerve the Whole: That particular Men have the Liberty to ſubvert the Government which protects them, and yet continue to be protected by that Government which they would deſtroy: That they may overturn all Law, and yet eſcape by not being within the expreſs Words of any particular Law.

There are Crimes ſo monſtrous and ſhocking, that wiſe States would not ſuffer them to ſtand in their Statute-Books; becauſe they would not put ſuch an Indignity upon human Nature, as to ſuppoſe it capable of committing them. They would not mention what they imagined would never be practiſed. The Old *Romans*, therefore, had no Law againſt *Parricide*; yet there was no want of Puniſhment for *Parricides* from the Want of Law: Thoſe black and enormous Criminals were ſewed up in a Sack, and thrown into the *Tyber*.

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In *Holland*, there was no Law againſt Mens Breaking fraudulently; yet the firſt Man who was known to do ſo, was immediately executed, and his Eſtate divided among his Creditors.

In *England*, 'tis ſaid, there was no Law, till lately, againſt the burning of Ships; yet, if any Man had burned the Royal Navy of *England*, lying at Anchor, ought not his Crime, which it ſeems was not Felony, to have been declared High-Treaſon?

Many Nations have had particular Officers appointed on purpoſe to puniſh uncommon Crimes, which were not within the Reach of ordinary Juſtice. The *Romans* had a *Dictator*; a great and extraordinary Magiſtrate, veſted with an extraordinary Power, as he was created on extraordinary Exigencies; and his Commiſſion was limited only by the Publick Good, and conſiſted in a very ſhort Direction, *Nequid detrimenti Reſpublica capiat*; in *Engliſh*, *To ſave the State.*

This powerful Officer was once created on purpoſe to put to Death *Spurius Mælius*, for giving *gratis* to the People a large Quantity of Corn, in a Time of Famine. This Liberality of his was conſtrued by the Senate, an ambitious Bribe to catch the Hearts of the Multitude, in order to ſeize their Liberties. — *Spurius Mælius — prædives, rem utilem peſſimo exemplo, pejore conſilio eſt aggreſſus.* He undertook a publick and plauſible Thing, but of ill Example, and with a worſe Deſign. *Largitiones frumenti facere inſtituit.* His avowed Pretence was to relieve the Poor; *Plebemq; hoc munere delinitam, quacunque incederet conſpectus alatuſq; ſupra modum hominis privati, ſecum trahere.* He cajoled the People, intending to enſlave them; and growing

growing too powerful for a Subject, became terrible to the common Liberty, which is ſupported by Equality: *Ipſe, ut eſt humanus animus inſatiabilis eo quod fortuna ſpondet, ad altiora & non conceſſa tendere.* The Mind of Man is reſtleſs, and cannot ſtand ſtill, nor ſet Bounds to its Purſuits. It is not to be expected, that one of our Million Men (and they ſay that we have ſeveral) will ſit down and be content with his Millions, though he were allowed to keep them (which God forbid!) He will be making new Puſhes for new Acquiſitions, having ſuch ample Means in his Hands. *Spurius Mælius* would at firſt have been content with the Conſulate, or Chief Magiſtracy in Ordinary; but becauſe he found that even that could not be got without Force, he thought that the ſame Force would as well carry him higher, and make him King. — *Et quoniam Conſulatus quoque eripiendus invitis patribus eſſet, de Regno agitare.* The Traytor had been ſuffered to carry a great Point; he had abuſed the Publick, and deceived the People. The Senate, therefore, take him to Task; and there being no Law ſubſiſting, by which he could be put to Death — *Conſules* legibus *conſtricti, nequaquam* tantum virium *in Magiſtratu ad eam rem pro* atrocitate *vindicandum quantum animi haberent*; They therefore create a Dictator, an Officer with Power, for a Time, to ſuſpend Laws, and make Laws. The Occaſion was great — *Opus eſſe non forti ſolum viro*, ſed etiam *LIBERO, EXSOLUTOQUE LEGUM VINCULIS. L. Quincius Cincinnatus* was the Man; a true and brave old *Republican*, who worthily and boldly did his Work, and by the Hands of his Maſter of the Horſe ſlew the mighty Traytor, impudently imploring

ploring the publick Faith, to which he was a ſworn Enemy; and complaining of the Power of Oppreſſion, when the ſhameleſs Villain had been only ſeeking a Power to oppreſs. *Fidem plebis Romanæ implorare*; & opprimi ſe *CONSENSU PATRUM DICERE.* He knew that his Villainies were out of the Reach of the Law, and he did not dream of an extraordinary Method of puniſhing them by the *Roman* Parliament. But he was deceived; and the Dictator tells the People, that being a ſort of an Outlaw, he was not to be proceeded with as with a Citizen of *Rome: Nec cum eo tanquam cum* Cive *agendum fuiſſe.* An unuſual Death was due to his monſtrous Wickedneſs: *Non pro ſcelere id magis, quam pro* monſtro *habendum.* Nor was his Blood alone, ſays the wiſe Dictator, ſufficient to expiate his Guilt, unleſs we alſo pull down his Houſe, where ſuch crying Crimes were firſt conceived; and confiscate to the publick Uſe his Eſtate and his Treaſures, the Price and Means of the publick Ruin. — And his Eſtate was accordingly given to the Publick — *Nec ſatis eſſe ſanguine ejus expiatum, niſi tecta parieteſq; inter quæ tantum amentiæ conceptum eſſet, diſſiparentur; bonaq; contacta pretiis Regni mercandi* publicarentur: *Jubere itaque Queſtores, vendere ea bona & in publicum redigere:* The Treaſury had them for the Uſe of the Publick.

Thus did the Great, the Wiſe, and the Free *Romans* puniſh this extraordinary Knave, by a Power that was not ordinary. They likewiſe exerted it upon other Occaſions; nor were they the only People that did ſo.

The *Athenians*, grown jealous by having loſt their Liberties, by the Uſurpation of a private, but

but too powerful Citizen, durſt never truſt this great Power to any ſingle Magiſtrate, or even to a Council. They would not, however, part with it, but reſerved it to the whole Body of the People, agreeably to the Nature of a popular Government. In this jealous State, it was a Crime to be popular, much more to affect Popularity: They would not allow a Man to have it in his Power to enſlave his Country. And, indeed, it is Wiſdom in a State, and a Sign that they judge well, to ſuppoſe, that all Men who can enſlave them, will enſlave them. Generoſity, Self-denial, and private and perſonal Virtues, are in Politicks but mere Names, or rather Cant-Words, that go for nothing with wiſe Men, though they may cheat the Vulgar. The *Athenians* knew this; and therefore appointed a Method of puniſhing Great Men, though they could prove no other Crime againſt them but that of being Great Men. This Puniſhment was called the *Oſtraciſm*, or the Sentence of a Majority in a Ballot by Oyſter-Shells; by which a ſuſpected Citizen was adjudged to Baniſhment for Ten Years. They would not truſt to the Virtue and Moderation of any private Subject, capable, by being great, to be miſchievous; but would rather hurt a private Subject, than endanger the publick Liberty. Worthy Men are thought to have ſuffered unjuſtly by this Oſtraciſm; and it may be true, for ought that I know; but ſtill it ſecured the Publick, and long ſecured it. Weak and babbling Men, who penetrate no deeper than Words, may blame this politick Severity in the Commonwealth of *Athens*; but it is juſtified, in that it was politick.

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In *Venice*, a wiſe, ancient, and honourable Republick, there is a Council of Ten, which exerciſes this extraordinary Power: Every arbitrary Prince in the World exerciſes it; and every free State in the World has an undoubted Right to exerciſe it, though they have never delegated their Power to particular Magiſtrates to exerciſe it for them.

In *England*, indeed, we have not delegated this Power at all, becauſe we very well know who muſt have had it, and what Uſe would be made of it. The Legiſlature, therefore, has reſerved this Power to itſelf, and has an undoubted Right to exerciſe it; and has often done ſo upon extraordinary Occaſions. It ought indeed to be exerciſed but upon extraordinary Occaſions. *Jove's* Thunderbolts were only launched againſt ſuch as provoked the Thunderbolts of *Jove*.

I ſhall, in my next Letter to you, apply theſe general Maxims of Government to our own particular Conſtitution, and to the preſent Occaſion, which calls aloud for *Jove's* Help and Thunder.

G

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *January* 14, 1720. No. 12.

Of Treaſon: All Treaſons not to be found in Statutes. — The Right of the Legiſlature to declare Treaſons.

SIR,

TREASON, properly ſo called, in *Latin* *Crimen læſæ Majeſtatis*, is in all Countries the ſame: It is an Endeavour to ſubvert, or to do ſome notable Miſchief to the Publick; of which every Man is a Part, and with which he has joined himſelf for mutual Defence, under what Form ſoever the Adminiſtration is exerciſed. I own, that leſſer Crimes are ſometimes called by the ſame Name, and ſubjected to the ſame Puniſhment.

An Attempt to deſtroy the Chief Magiſtrate of a Commonwealth, or the General of an Army in the Field, or the Governor of a Town during a Siege, are certainly Treaſons every where; becauſe in ſuch Attempts, when they ſucceed, is often involved the Ruin of States. They alſo are doubtleſs guilty of High Treaſon, who, being entruſted with the Wealth, Security, and Happineſs of Kingdoms, do yet knowingly pervert that Truſt, to the Undoing of that People whom they are obliged, by undeſerved Rewards, as well as by all the Ties of Religion, Juſtice, Honour, and Gratitude, to defend and protect.

'Tis the ſame, if any Number of Men, though in a leſſer Truſt, or in no Truſt at all, ſhould deliberately and knowingly deſtroy Thouſands of their

their Fellow-Subjects, and overturn the Trade and publick Credit of the Nation, to enrich themſelves and their Accomplices.

Theſe, and Crimes of the like Nature, are Treaſons from the Nature of Things themſelves, antecedent to all Laws that call them ſo; and will be Treaſons, though Laws gained by Subornation ſhould call them otherwiſe: And every State has a Right to treat thoſe who commit them, as Traytors and Parricides. In Truth, there are as many of theſe Kinds of Treaſons, as there are different Methods of conſpiring againſt Kingdoms; and the Criminals, though ever ſo Great, deſerve Death and Confiſcation; that is, they ought to be deſtroyed by the People whom they would deſtroy.

The great Principle of Self-Preſervation, which is the firſt and fundamental Law of Nature, calls for this Procedure; the Security of Commonwealths depends upon it; the very Being of Government makes it neceſſary; and whatever is neceſſary to the Publick Safety, is juſt.

The Fate of Millions, and the Being of States, muſt not ſtand and fall by the Diſtinctions of Monks, coined in Colleges, or by the Chicane of Petty-Foggers; who would bring every thing within the narrow Verge of their own Knowledge, under their own Juriſdiction and Cognizance; and would determine all things by the Rules of Inferior Judicatures, the Gibberiſh of private Practiſers, and the Sayings of Old Women, or of thoſe who are like Old Women; whoſe Brains are addled by being long jumbled and always turned round within the ſcanty Circle of private Courts, not daring to venture at a

bold and free Thought out of them, however ſelf-evident; like ſome Carriers Horſes, that are uſed to a Track, and know not how to travel in an open Road.

But Queſtions of this Kind belong *ad aliud examen*, and ought to be brought before an higher Tribunal: The Legiſlature are the only proper and ſafe Judges: What is done againſt All, ſhould be judged by All. Nor are their Reſolutions to be confined by any other Rule than *Quid eſt utile, quid honeſtum*, general Juſtice, and the general Good. Religion, Virtue, common Senſe, and the Publick Peace and Felicity, are the only Council to be admitted either for the Publick or the Priſoners.

The Conſpirators againſt Mankind ought to know, that no Subterfuges, or Tergiverſations; no knaviſh Subtilties, or Pedantick Quirks of Lawyers; no Evaſions, no Skulkings behind known Statutes; no Combinations, or pretended Commiſſions, ſhall be able to skreen or protect them from publick Juſtice. They ought to know, that there is a Power in being that can follow them through all the dark Labyrinths and doubling Meanders; a Power that can cruſh them to pieces, though they change into all the Shapes of *Proteus*, to avoid the Fury of *Hercules:* a Power, confined by no Limitation, but that of publick Juſtice and the publick Good; a Power, that does not follow Precedents, but make them; a Power, which has this for its Principle, that extraordinary Crimes ought not to be tried by ordinary Rules, and that unprecedented Villainies ought to have unprecedented Puniſhments.

But though in all Governments this great Power muſt exiſt ſomewhere, yet it can rarely be delegated

gated with Prudence to inferior Magiſtrates; who, out of Ambition, Revenge, or Faction, or for Bribes and Preferments, or out of Fear and Flattery, or in Concert with the ill Meaſures or ſelfiſh Intrigues of Stateſmen, may pervert ſo dangerous a Truſt to the Deſtruction of thoſe whom it was intended to preſerve.

This particularly has been the Caſe of *England*: We know by what Means Judges were often made, and from what Conduct they expected farther Preferment, and from whom they looked for Protection: For this Reaſon they were, and ought to be, confined in their Juriſdiction relating to Treaſon, and the Manner of Trying it.

Undoubtedly every Intention manifeſted by Act to deſtroy the Conſtitution and Government, was Treaſon by the Common Law of *England*. —— But why do I ſay of *England*, ſince it is, and ever was, Treaſon in every Country throughout the World? This Treaſon equally extends to thoſe, who would ſubvert either Houſe of Parliament, or the Rights and Privileges of the People, as to thoſe who attempt to deſtroy the Perſon of the King, or dethrone him. And indeed, what can be more abſurd, than to ſuppoſe it to be the higheſt Crime to attempt to deſtroy one Man, for no other Reaſon but that he is King; and yet not to ſuppoſe it the higheſt Crime to deſtroy that People for whoſe Benefit alone he was made King, and for whoſe Sake indeed there ever was ſuch a Thing in the World.

But though this Propoſition was ſelf-evident, and muſt ever be aſſented to as ſoon as mentioned, yet, by the Flattery of Prieſts and ſervile Lawyers, the *Salus Populi*, or Security of the State, ſoon

came to ſignify only the unbounded Power and Sovereignty of the Prince; and it became Treaſon to hinder One, conſtituted, and grandly maintained out of the People's Labour and Wealth, for the publick Safety, from deſtroying the publick Safety. Our Anceſtors found, by lamentable Experience, that unworthy Men, preferred by corrupt Miniſters for unworthy Ends, made Treaſons free only of the Court; that the leaſt Attempt to oppoſe unlimited and unlawful Authority, was often called Treaſon; and that the higheſt Treaſons of all, which were thoſe againſt the Commonwealth, might be committed with Impunity, Applauſe, and Rewards.

It was therefore high time to apply an adequate Remedy to an enormous Miſchief, which ſtruck at the whole State, and at the Fortunes and Lives of every Subject in *England*. The Statute therefore of the 25th of *Edward* III. was enacted, which enumerates the ſeveral Species or Kinds of Treaſons, which ſhall continue to be eſteemed Treaſons, and be adjudged ſo by the King's Juſtices; and are chiefly thoſe which relate to the King's Perſon, his Family, and Dignity: Theſe the Parliament thought they might ſafely truſt to the Examination of the King's Judges, under ſuch Limitations and Regulations as the Act preſents.

But it is plain, from the ſame Act, that they did not intend to confine all Treaſons to thoſe recited there, becauſe it is declared in the following Words, *viz. If any other Caſe ſuppoſed Treaſon, not before ſpecified, ſhall happen before any Juſtices, they ſhall ſtay Judgment, till the Cauſe be ſhewed before*

fore the Parliament, whether it ought to be judged Treaſon or not.

So that here is a plain Declaration of the Legiſlature (if any Man can poſſibly think ſuch a Declaration wanting) that other Crimes were Treaſon, and ought to be puniſhed as Treaſon, (though not by the King's Judges) beſides thoſe recited in the Act; which were, as has been ſaid, deſigned only to extend to Treaſons which were committed againſt our Lord the King, and his Royal Majeſty, as the Act expreſly ſays. And 'tis evident, from the whole Tenor of it, that it was intended purely to reſtrain the unlimited and exorbitant Juriſdiction aſſumed by the King's Courts, in declaring Treaſons, and ſacrificing, by that Means, whom they pleaſed to unlawful Power.

But as to the higheſt and moſt heinous Treaſons of all, ſuch as were Treaſons againſt the Legiſlature, and againſt the whole Body of the People, for whoſe Safety alone there were any Treaſons againſt the King at all, ſeeing that their Safety was, in a great meaſure, included in his; the Parliament reſerved the Judgment of every ſuch Treaſon to themſelves: They did not alter what was Treaſon, but the Judges of it. They knew that Treaſons againſt the Conſtitution could ſeldom be committed but by Miniſters and Favourites of Princes, protected by Power, and ſheltered by Authority; and that therefore it would be abſurd to truſt the Puniſhment of ſuch potent Knaves, and criminal Favourites, to Judges made by themſelves; Judges, who would neither have Inclination, Figure, or Character, to reach Crimes countenanced

tenanced, and perhaps authorized, by a *Richard* II. or *Edward* II.

Such Crimes, therefore, were the proper Objects of the awful Power of a Legiſlature; who will always be ſupported by the People whom they repreſent, when they exert themſelves for the Intereſt of that People. A Power, ſo ſupported, can make the loftieſt Traytor quake. It can fetch corrupt Miniſters out of their dark Receſſes, and make their Heads a Victim to publick Vengeance. Every wiſe and good King will lend a willing Ear to their dutiful Remonſtrances; he will hearken to the importunate Cries of his People, and readily deliver up the Authors of their Miſery.

One great Part of their Care, therefore, has ever been, to call thoſe to an Account, who have abuſed the Favour of their Royal Maſter, and endeavoured to make him little and contemptible to his People; weakening, by ſuch Means, his Authority, and hazarding his Perſon. This the People, whom they repreſented, thought they had a Right to expect and demand from them; and this Juſtice they have often done to their King and Country.

An excellent *Diſcourſe concerning Treaſons and Bills of Attainder*, was publiſhed ſoon after his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, and ſhewed unanſwerably, that our Parliaments, in almoſt every Reign ſince the Conqueſt, claimed and exerciſed this Right, upon extraordinary Occaſions; and none ever, till lately, oppoſed it, but the Criminals who were to ſuffer by it, and their Party: Some Gentlemen now living can give the beſt Account, why that Book, and the Cries of every

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honeſt Man, had not their deſired Effect. I hope that no Man will be deluded again by any practiſing the ſame Arts, and for the ſame Reaſons too.

The Length of this Letter will not allow me to draw from all theſe Reaſonings upon Treaſon ſuch Applications as I promiſed in my laſt, and intended in this. I ſhall therefore defer theſe Applications to another, and perhaps more proper, Occaſion. In the mean while, I obſerve with Pleaſure the noble Spirit ſhewn by our Legiſlature, to puniſh, with an exemplary Severity, the Murtherers of our Credit, and the publick Enemies of our Liberty and Proſperity. This revives every drooping Heart, and kindles Joy in every Face, in ſpite of all our Miſeries. And this brings Terror, Trembling, and Paleneſs upon the Guilty; to ſee Death and Deſtruction purſuing them cloſe, and beſetting them hard on every Side. They are in the Circumſtances and the Agonies of the guilty *Cain*, who juſtly feared that every Man whom he met would kill him, though there was no Law then in being againſt Murther.

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I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *January* 21, 1720. No. 13.

The Arts of misleading the People by Sounds.

SIR,

IN surveying the State of the World, one is often at a great Loss, whether to ascribe the political Misery of Mankind to their own Folly and Credulity, or to the Knavery and Impudence of their pretended Managers. Both these Causes, in all Appearance, concur to produce the same Evil; and if there were no Bubbles, there would be no Sharpers.

There must certainly be a vast Fund of Stupidity in Human Nature, else Men would not be caught as they are, a Thousand times over, by the same Snare; and while they yet remember their past Misfortunes, go on to court and encourage the Causes to which they were owing, and which will again produce them.

I will own, however, that Government makes more Fools, and more wise Men, than Nature makes; and the Difference between Nation and Nation, in Point of Virtue, Sagacity, and Arms, arises not from the different Genius of the People; which, making very small Allowances for the Difference of Climate, would be the same under the same Regulations; but from the different Genius of their political Constitutions: The one, perhaps, making common Sense dangerous, and Enquiries criminal; cowing the Spirits of Men, and rebuking the Sallies of Virtue; while the other,

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at the ſame time, encourages the Improvement of the Underſtanding, rewards the Diſcovery of Truth, and cultivates, as a Virtue, the Love of Liberty and of one's Country.

Yet even in Countries where the higheſt Liberty is allowed, and the greateſt Light ſhines, you generally find certain Men, and Bodies of Men, ſet apart to miſlead the Multitude; who are ever abuſed with Words, ever fond of the worſt of Things recommended by good Names, and ever abhor the beſt Things, and the moſt virtuous Actions, disfigured by ill Names. One of the great Arts, therefore, of cheating Men, is, to ſtudy the Application and Miſapplication of Sounds.—A few loud Words rule the Majority, I had almoſt ſaid, the whole World.

Thus we have heard from our Fathers, and ſeen in our own Days, that contemptible Inſects, born in Poverty, educated by Charity, and often from cleaning their Maſters Shoes, preferred unexpectedly and undeſervedly to Offices and Preferments in the Church, have had the Front to call themſelves the Church itſelf, and every one its Enemy, who deſpiſed their Meanneſs, expoſed their reverend Knavery, and laughed at their Grimace.

And thus we have been told of the Times, and ſome Men now living remember to have ſeen them, when unworthy Men, who, by Faction and Treachery, by mean Compliances with Power, or by inſolently daring of Authority, having raiſed themſelves to Wealth and Honours, and to the Power of betraying ſome conſiderable Truſt, have had the provoking Sawcineſs to call themſelves the Government, and their own Rogueries his then Majeſty's Meaſures; and the next Thing was, to pro-

pronounce all thoſe Enemies to his then Majeſty, who would endeavour to reſcue their abuſed King and ſinking Country out of their devouring and polluted Claws.

In King *Charles* I.'s Time, the great Earl of *Strafford* and little Archbiſhop *Laud* told the Nation, that his Majeſty's Meaſures were, governing without Parliaments, a Power without Reſerve in the State, a flaming Popiſh Hierarchy in the Church, abſolute and abject Submiſſion in the People, and a Barbarian Army of *Iriſh* Papiſts to ſupport and inſure all theſe worthy Meaſures. But the untimely Death of one of theſe Offenders, and the Impriſonment of the other, broke all thoſe fine Meaſures.

In the Reign of *Charles* II. Penſionary Parliaments, a general Depravation of Manners, Guards increaſed into Armies, and Popiſh Religion and a Popiſh Succeſſor, Popiſh Leagues and Proteſtant Wars, were called by wicked Men his Majeſty's Meaſures; and all honeſt Men and good Subjects were called his Majeſty's Enemies: And, when that Prince ſaw that theſe Meaſures of his Miniſtry created endleſs Jealouſies to his People, and endleſs Uneaſineſs to himſelf, and when he reſolved to take other Meaſures of his own, it is thought that they put a ſhort End to all his Meaſures.

When King *James* came to the Crown, though, ſetting Bigotry apart, he had ſome Royal Virtues, being a Prince of Induſtry and good Œconomy; yet he ſuffered himſelf to be governed by a Set of Sycophants, many of them as fooliſh as they were miſchievous. The Eſtabliſhment of bare-faced *Romiſh* Popery in the Church, and a lawleſs Ty-

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ranny in the Prince, became then his Majeſty's Meaſures; the Miniſters, who adviſed and promoted them, called themſelves the *Government*; and whoever oppoſed his Reaſon, his Honeſty, and his publick Spirit, againſt thoſe Traytors to the Publick, was charged with flying in the Face of the Government, and oppoſing his Majeſty's Meaſures. In what theſe Meaſures ended, is well known: They coſt his Majeſty his Kingdoms, and made him an honourable Beggar in *France* all his Life, for his daily Bread.

King *William*, when he came to the Crown, brought with him the Hearts, and Hands, and the good Wiſhes of every honeſt Man in *England*; and was ſupported by theſe Men through a tedious and expenſive War, unknown to our Anceſtors; which, when he had finiſhed, and the exhauſted People expected ſome Relaxations from their Sufferings, they were given to know by ſome Court Paraſites, that his Majeſty's Meaſures was a ſtanding Army in Time of Peace, under the Inſpection of Parliaments. This unexpected Spirit in the Court gave ſuch Jealouſy to thoſe who were beſt affected to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, that with Grief I call to mind the Difficulties and Anxieties which that great Prince felt ever afterwards to the End of his Reign.

As to Queen *Anne*, I ſhall ſay no more, than that it is ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that what her Majeſty's Miniſtry had the Inſolence to call *Her Majeſty's Meaſures, broke her Majeſty's Heart.*

Let Mankind therefore learn Experience from ſo many Misfortunes, and bear no longer to hear the worſt Things called by the beſt Names; nor ſuffer hereafter the brighteſt and moſt conſpicuous

Virtues

Virtues of the wiſeſt and moſt beneficent Princes, to be ſullied by Actions which they do not countenance, nor even know of. Let them not permit the Vices of the worſt of Servants to be laid at the Door of the beſt of Maſters.

We, in this Land, are very ſure that we are bleſſed with the beſt King in the World, who deſires of his People nothing but their own Greatneſs and Felicity: A Prince, ready to prevent their Wiſhes, and to give them more than their Duty ought to ſuffer them to ask. Let us ſhew our Duty to this our great and benevolent Sovereign; let us endeavour to alleviate his Cares, and eaſe him of all ungrateful Burthens; let us take upon ourſelves the heavy Labour of cleanſing the *Augean* Stables, and of cutting off all the *Hydra's* Heads at once.

The Law tells us, that the King can do no Wrong: And, I thank God, we have a King that would not, if he could. But the greateſt Servants to Princes may do Wrong, and often have done it; and the Repreſentatives of the People have an undoubted Right to call them to an Account for it.

In Truth, every private Subject has a Right to watch the Steps of thoſe who would betray their Country; nor is he to take their Word about the Motives of their Deſigns, but to judge of their Deſigns by the Event.

This is the Principle of a *Whig*, this the Doctrine of Liberty; and 'tis as much Knavery to deny this Doctrine, as it is Folly to ridicule it. Some will tell us, that this is ſetting up the Mob for Stateſmen, and for the Cenſurers of States. The Word *Mob* does not at all move me, on this Occa-

Occaſion, nor weaken the Grounds which I go upon. It is certain, that the whole People, who are the Publick, are the beſt Judges, whether Things go ill or well with the Publick. It is true, that they cannot all of them ſee diſtant Dangers, nor watch the Motions, and gueſs the Deſigns, of neighbouring States: But every Cobler can judge, as well as a Stateſman, whether he can ſit peaceably in his Stall; whether he is paid for his Work; whether the Market, where he buys his Victuals, be well provided; and whether a Dragoon, or a Pariſh-Officer, comes to him for his Taxes, if he pay any.

Every Man too, even the meaneſt, can ſee, in a publick and ſudden Tranſition from Plenty to Poverty, from Happineſs to Diſtreſs, whether the Calamity comes from War, and Famine, and the Hand of God; or from Oppreſſion, and Miſmanagement, and the Villainies of Men. In ſhort, the People often judge better than their Superiors, and have not ſo many Biaſſes to judge wrong; and Politicians often rail at the People, chiefly becauſe they have given the People Occaſion to rail: Thoſe Miniſters who cannot make the People their Friends, it is to be ſhrewdly ſuſpected, do not deſerve their Friendſhip; it is certain, that much Honeſty, and ſmall Management, rarely miſs to gain it. As Temporal Felicity is the whole End of Government; ſo People will always be pleaſed or provoked, as that increaſes or abates. This Rule will always hold. You may judge of their Affection, or Diſaffection, by the Burthens which they bear, and the Advantages which they enjoy. Here then is a ſure Standard for the Government

vernment to judge of the People, and for the People to judge of the Government.

Bleſſed be God, and Thanks to our Sovereign, who has given us a Miniſtry that makes all theſe Cautions unneceſſary; who will baffle all Calumny, and remove all Suſpicion of Guilt from themſelves, (if any ſuch Suſpicion can be) by being foremoſt to purſue the Guilty; and will, doubtleſs, take double Vengeance upon any in publick Authority, (if any ſuch can be found) who ſhall appear to have contributed to our publick Misfortunes; and, in fine, will promote and encourage a rigorous and ſtrict Enquiry, wherever any Suſpicion is given that Enquiry ought to be made.

Such Conduct will diſperſe our Fears, reſtore our Credit, give Bread to our Poor, make Trade and Manufacture flouriſh again; and, in ſome meaſure, compenſate for all our paſt Evils, by giving us a laſting Proſpect of our future Plenty, Peace, and Felicity.

T *I am*, &c.

SATURDAY, *January* 28, 1720. No. 14.

The unhappy State of deſpotick Princes, compared with the happy Lot of ſuch as rule by ſettled Laws. — How the latter, by abuſing their Truſt, may forfeit their Crown.

SIR,

THE beſt, the wiſeſt, and the moſt courageous of deſpotick Princes, have frequently lamented the unhappy Condition into which their Greatneſs betrayed

betrayed them. Being often born in Purple, and educated in Pride and Luxury, they ſeldom can have any Feeling of the Calamities which the reſt of the World ſuffer. They are, beſides, ſurrounded, for the moſt part, by the falſeſt, the moſt ambitious, and the baſeſt of all Men; with ſuch Mens Eyes they muſt therefore ſee, with ſuch Mens Ears they muſt likewiſe hear.

I cannot, in Truth, ſee how, in the Nature of Things, it can be otherwiſe: For the mean Fawnings, the ſervile Flatteries, the deceitful Correſpondences, the baſe Ingratitude to old Benefactors, and the ſlaviſh Compliances with new Friends, and all the other Arts and Treacheries, which are neceſſary to be put in Practice, in order to riſe in ſuch Courts, or indeed to become Heads of Parties even in free Governments, make it almoſt impoſſible for a truly great or virtuous Man to attain to thoſe Stations.

A good Man will chooſe to live in an innocent Obſcurity, and enjoy the internal Satisfaction reſulting from a juſt Senſe of his own Merit and Virtue, rather than aim at Greatneſs, by a long Series of unworthy Arts, and ignoble Actions; whilſt the ambitious, the cruel, the rapacious, the falſe, the proud, the treacherous Part of Mankind, will be ever thruſting themſelves forward, and endeavouring to ſparkle in Courts, as well as in the Eyes of the unthinking Crowd; and, to make themſelves neceſſary, will be continually either flattering or diſtreſſing Princes.

Nor can it be expected that Men, who have been raiſed to Power by ſuch execrable Means, ſhould ever uſe it to the Benefit of Mankind, or to any good End. They will always proceed in the

and where inferior Machines are anſwerable for all ſuch Conduct as may prejudice the Publick.

Such a Government does, in ſome Senſe, reſemble that of Heaven itſelf, where the Sovereign Diſpoſer of all Things can neither will nor do any thing but what is juſt and good: He is reſtrained, by the Excellency of his own Nature, from being the Author of Evil; and will call to a ſevere Account all thoſe, who would impute their own Unrighteouſneſs to his Orders or Influence.

Such is the Monarchy of *England*, where the Sovereign performs every Act of his Regal Office by his Authority, without the Fatigue and Anxiety of executing the troubleſome Parts of it in his Perſon. The Laws are choſen and rcommended to him by his Parliament; and afterwards executed by his Judges, and other Miniſters of Juſtice: His Great Seal is kept by his Chancellor: His Naval Power is under the Direction of his High Admiral: And all Acts of State and Diſcretion are preſumed to be done by the Advice of his Council. All which Officers are anſwerable for their Miſbehaviour, and for all Actions done within their ſeveral Provinces, which they have adviſed, or could have prevented by giving their Advice, or by making timely and humble Remonſtrances; which they are obliged to ſhew that they have done.

His Leagues, his Commands, and even his authentick Speeches, are Records. His High Office conſiſts in approving Laws choſen by common Conſent; in executing thoſe Laws, and in being the publick Guardian of the publick Safety: And all private Orders, which are inconſiſtent with theſe great Duties, are not the Orders of the Crown; nor

nor are the Actions done in purſuance of them, the Actions of the King, but the Actions of thoſe that do them. He can do no Wrong himſelf, nor give Authority to any one elſe to do Wrong. Every Act of his muſt be lawful, becauſe all unlawful Acts are not his. He can give no Commands, as a Man, which ſhall interfere with thoſe which he gives as a King. His private Will cannot controul his publick Will. He commands, as a King, his Chancellor, and Judges, to act according to his known Laws; and no private Orders to do otherwiſe can be valid.

The Nation has ever acted upon theſe Maxims, and preſerved ſuch a dutiful Reſpect to the Royal Majeſty, as never to ſuffer any Guilt to be laid to him; but has always heaped double Vengeance upon ſuch Miſcreants as would inſinuate, that their Crimes were approved or countenanced by their Royal Maſter.

Here is all the Precaution which can be taken by human Wiſdom to make a happy Prince and a happy People. The Prince is reſtrained in nothing, but from doing Miſchief to his Subjects, and conſequently to himſelf; their true Intereſt being ever the ſame: And the People can never have any Motive to refuſe juſt Allegiance to their Prince, whilſt the Ligaments of the Conſtitution are preſerved entire; that is, whilſt Parliaments are ſuffered to meet, and the Courts of Juſtice remain open, and ſuch Force is not uſed againſt them as diſſolves all Relation. All the Subjects of ſuch a Prince highly honour, and almoſt worſhip, him. He has a vaſt Revenue to ſupport the Splendor and Magnificence of his Court at Home, and his Royal Dignity Abroad: He has the Power of diſpoſing

of

of all Offices: All Honours flow from him: His Perſon is ſacred, and not anſwerable for any Events: He cannot be accountable for any Wrong, which he is incapable of doing; and thoſe who do it, ſhall be puniſhed by his Authority, even though it be ſuppoſed poſſible that they could, by falſe Miſrepreſentations, deceive him far enough to approve it.

The Examples of *Richard* II. who, as our Hiſtories tell us, was depoſed by the States of his Kingdom, and of the late King *James*, are no Inſtances to diſprove the Truth of this Aſſertion: For neither of them was depoſed by his People before he firſt depoſed himſelf. No Champions for Tyranny, or Dogmatizers for unlimited Dominion, have yet aſſerted, that a Prince may not reſign his Crown by the Conſent of his People, when he declines to hold it any longer upon the Conditions which he firſt accepted it.

Suppoſe a Prince, in any limited Monarchy, ſhould make a publick Declaration to the States of his Kingdom, That "Whereas the Crown de-
"ſcended to him by the Laws of that Country,
"and that all the Power which he was poſſeſſed
"of was conferred upon him by thoſe Laws;
"That he well knew that the Preſervation of
"thoſe Laws, which he had ſworn to obſerve,
"and the general Good of his People, were the
"ſole Conſiderations of his enjoying that high
"Dignity; and yet, notwithſtanding, he refuſed
"to hold it any longer, upon the Terms upon
"which he had firſt accepted it, and ſworn to
"obſerve; but that he now renounced that Title,
"and would govern them hereafter by his ſole
"Will and Pleaſure:" I ſay, if any ſhould do this

this, the Advocates for lawleſs Power would do well to tell us, whether ſuch a Prince did not make as effectual a Renunciation and Reſignation of his Government, as if he diſabled himſelf, and reſigned it for his Eaſe, or from the Satiety of Power. And if they allow that he may do all this by Words ſpoken to expreſs his Intentions, I ſhould be glad to know, from theſe Men of Diſtinctions, why he may not do it by a Series of Actions, which will more effectually diſcover and declare his inward Intentions, and may therefore be more depended on than any Words can poſſibly be?

I call upon the Two famous Univerſities of this Land for an Anſwer: And, till I have a full one, ſhall continue to believe, that what was done, in regard to the Abdication of the late King *James*, was juſt and neceſſary to be done upon the fundamental Principles of Government; and, that all his Succeſſors ſince have been rightful and lawful Kings and Queens of this Realm; and I particularly glory to ſay, that no Prince has ever better deſerved that high Title, than our preſent great and glorious Sovereign, King *George*.

T

I am, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *February* 4, 1720. No. 15.

Of Freedom of Speech: That the ſame is inſeparable from Publick Liberty.

SIR,

WITHOUT Freedom of Thought, there can be no ſuch Thing as Wiſdom; and no ſuch Thing as publick Liberty, without Freedom of Speech: Which is the Right of every Man, as far as by it he does not hurt and controul the Right of another; and this is the only Check which it ought to ſuffer, the only Bounds which it ought to know.

This ſacred Privilege is ſo eſſential to free Government, that the Security of Property, and the Freedom of Speech, always go together; and in thoſe wretched Countries where a Man cannot call his Tongue his own, he can ſcarce call any Thing elſe his own. Whoever would overthrow the Liberty of the Nation, muſt begin by ſubduing the Freedom of Speech; a Thing terrible to publick Traytors.

This Secret was ſo well known to the Court of King *Charles* I. that his wicked Miniſtry procured a Proclamation to forbid the People to talk of Parliaments, which thoſe Traytors had laid aſide. To aſſert the undoubted Right of the Subject, and defend his Majeſty's Legal Prerogative, was called Diſaffection, and puniſhed as Sedition. Nay, People were forbid to talk of Religion in their Families: For the Prieſts had combined

combined with the Miniſters to cook up Tyranny, and ſuppreſs Truth and the Law. While the late King *James*, when Duke of *York*, went avowedly to Maſs; Men were fined, impriſoned, and undone, for ſaying that he was a Papiſt: And, that King *Charles* II. might live more ſecurely a Papiſt, there was an Act of Parliament made, declaring it Treaſon to ſay that he was one.

That Men ought to ſpeak well of their Governors, is true, while their Governors deſerve to be well ſpoken of; but to do publick Miſchief, without hearing of it, is only the Prerogative and Felicity of Tyranny: A free People will be ſhewing that they are ſo, by their Freedom of Speech.

The Adminiſtration of Government is nothing elſe, but the Attendance of the Truſtees of the People upon the Intereſt and Affairs of the People: And as it is the Part and Buſineſs of the People, for whoſe Sake alone all publick Matters are, or ought to be, tranſacted, to ſee whether they be well or ill tranſacted; ſo it is the Intereſt, and ought to be the Ambition, of all honeſt Magiſtrates, to have their Deeds openly examined, and publickly ſcanned: Only the wicked Governors of Men dread what is ſaid of them; *Audivit* Tiberius *probra queis lacerabitur, atque* perculſus eſt. The publick Cenſure was true, elſe he had not felt it bitter.

Freedom of Speech is ever the Symptom, as well as the Effect, of good Government. In old *Rome*, all was left to the Judgment and Pleaſure of the People; who examined the publick Proceedings with ſuch Diſcretion, and cenſured thoſe who adminiſtered them with ſuch Equity and Mildneſs, that in the Space of Three Hundred Years, not

Five publick Miniſters ſuffered unjuſtly. Indeed, whenever the Commons proceeded to Violence, the Great Ones had been the Aggreſſors.

Guilt only dreads Liberty of Speech, which drags it out of its lurking Holes, and expoſes its Deformity and Horror to Day-light. *Horatius*, *Valerius*, *Cincinnatus*, and other virtuous and undeſigning Magiſtrates of the *Roman* Commonwealth, had nothing to fear from Liberty of Speech. Their virtuous Adminiſtration, the more it was examined, the more it brightened and gained by Enquiry. When *Valerius*, in particular, was accuſed, upon ſome ſlight Grounds, of affecting the Diadem; he, who was the firſt Miniſter of *Rome*, did not accuſe the People for examining his Conduct, but approved his Innocence in a Speech to them; he gave ſuch Satisfaction to them, and gained ſuch Popularity to himſelf, that they gave him a new Name; *inde cognomen factum Publicolæ eſt*; to denote that he was their Favourite and their Friend. — *Latæ deinde leges.* — *Ante omnes de provocatione* ADVERSUS MAGISTRATUS AD POPULUM, Livii lib. ii. cap. 8.

But Things afterwards took another Turn: *Rome*, with the Loſs of its Liberty, loſt alſo its Freedom of Speech; then Mens Words began to be feared and watched; then firſt began the poiſonous Race of Informers, baniſhed indeed under the righteous Adminiſtration of *Titus*, *Nerva*, *Trajan*, *Aurelius*, &c. but encouraged and enriched under the vile Miniſtry of *Sejanus*, *Tigellinus*, *Pallas*, and *Cleander*: *Querilibet, quod in ſecreta noſtra non inquirant principes, niſi quos odimus*, ſays *Pliny* to *Trajan*.

The

The beſt Princes have ever encouraged and promoted Freedom of Speech; they know that upright Meaſures would defend themſelves, and that all upright Men would defend them. *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of the Reign of ſome of the Princes above-mentioned, ſays with Extaſy, *Rara temporum felicitate, ubi ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias dicere liceat:* A bleſſed Time, when you might think what you would, and ſpeak what you thought!

The ſame was the Opinion and Practice of the wiſe and virtuous *Timoleon*, the Deliverer of the great City of *Syracuſe* from Slavery. He being accuſed by *Demænetus*, a popular Orator, in a full Aſſembly of the People, of ſeveral Miſdemeanors committed by him while he was General, gave no other Anſwer, than that *He was highly obliged to the Gods for granting him a Requeſt that he had often made to them*; namely, *That he might live to ſee the* Syracuſians *enjoy that Liberty of Speech which they now ſeemed to be Maſters of.*

And that great Commander *M. Marcellus*, who won more Battles than any *Roman* Captain of his Age, being accuſed by the *Syracuſians*, while he was now a fourth time Conſul, of having done them Indignities and hoſtile Wrongs, contrary to the League, roſe from his Seat in the Senate, as ſoon as the Charge againſt him was opened, and paſſing (as a private Man) into the Place where the Accuſed were wont to make their Defence, gave free Liberty to the *Syracuſians* to impeach him; which when they had done, he and they went out of the Court together to attend the Iſſue of the Cauſe: Nor did he expreſs the leaſt Ill-will or Reſentment towards theſe his Accuſers; but

being acquitted, received their City into his Protection. Had he been guilty, he would neither have ſhewn ſuch Temper nor Courage.

I doubt not but old *Spencer* and his Son, who were the chief Miniſters and Betrayers of *Edward* II. would have been very glad to have ſtopped the Mouths of all the honeſt Men in *England*. They dreaded to be called Traytors, becauſe they were Traytors. And I dare ſay, Queen *Elizabeth's Walſingham*, who deſerved no Reproaches, feared none. Miſrepreſentation of publick Meaſures is eaſily overthrown, by repreſenting publick Meaſures truly: When they are honeſt, they ought to be publickly known, that they may be publickly commended; but if they be knaviſh or pernicious, they ought to be publickly expoſed, in order to be publickly deteſted.

To aſſert, that King *James* was a Papiſt and a Tyrant, was only ſo far hurtful to him, as it was true of him; and if the Earl of *Strafford* had not deſerved to be impeached, he need not have feared a Bill of Attainder. If our Directors and their Confederates be not ſuch Knaves as the World thinks them, let them prove to all the World, that the World thinks wrong, and that they are guilty of none of thoſe Villainies which all the World lays to their Charge. Others too, who would be thought to have no Part of their Guilt, muſt, before they are thought innocent, ſhew that they did all that was in their Power to prevent that Guilt, and to check their Proceedings.

Freedom of Speech is the great Bulwark of Liberty; they proſper and die together: And it is the Terror of Traytors and Oppreſſors, and a Barrier againſt them. It produces excellent Writers,

ters, and encourages Men of fine Genius. *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Roman* Commonwealth bred great and numerous Authors, who writ with equal Boldneſs and Eloquence: But when it was enſlaved, thoſe great Wits were no more. — *Poſtquam bellatum apud Actium; atque omnem poteſtatem ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia ceſſere.* Tyranny had uſurped the Place of Equality, which is the Soul of Liberty, and deſtroyed publick Courage. The Minds of Men, terrified by unjuſt Power, degenerated into all the Vileneſs and Methods of Servitude: Abject Sycophancy and blind Submiſſion grew the only Means of Preferments, and indeed of Safety; Men durſt not open their Mouths, but to flatter.

Pliny the Younger obſerves, that this Dread of Tyranny had ſuch Effect, that the Senate, the great *Roman* Senate, became at laſt ſtupid and dumb: *Mutam ac ſedentariam aſſentiendi neceſſitatem.* Hence, ſays he, our Spirit and Genius are ſtupified, broken, and ſunk for ever. And in one of his Epiſtles, ſpeaking of the Works of his Uncle, he makes an Apology for eight of them, as not written with the ſame Vigour which was to be found in the reſt; for that theſe eight were written in the Reign of *Nero*, when the Spirit of Writing was cramped by Fear; *Dubii ſermonis octo ſcripſit ſub* Nerone — *cum omne ſtudiorum genus paulo liberius & erectius periculoſum ſervitus feciſſet.*

All Miniſters, therefore, who were Oppreſſors, or intended to be Oppreſſors, have been loud in their Complaints againſt Freedom of Speech, and the Licenſe of the Preſs; and always reſtrained, or endeavoured to reſtrain, both. In conſequence of this, they have brow-beaten Writers, puniſhed

them violently, and againſt Law, and burnt their Works. By all which they ſhewed how much Truth alarmed them, and how much they were at Enmity with Truth.

There is a famous Inſtance of this in *Tacitus*: He tells us, that *Cremutius Cordus*, having in his Annals praiſed *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, gave Offence to *Sejanus*, Firſt Miniſter, and to ſome inferior Sycophants in the Court of *Tiberius*; who, conſcious of their own Characters, took the Praiſe beſtowed on every worthy *Roman*, to be ſo many Reproaches pointed at themſelves: They therefore complain of the Book to the Senate; which, being now only the Machine of Tyranny, condemned it to be burnt. But this did not prevent its ſpreading. *—Libros cremandos cenſuere Patres; ſed manſerunt occultati & editi:* being cenſured, it was the more ſought after. *From hence*, ſays *Tacitus*, *we may wonder at the Stupidity of thoſe Statesmen, who hope to extinguiſh, by the Terror of their Power, the Memory of their Actions*; for quite otherwiſe, *the Puniſhment of good Writers gains Credit to their Writings: Nam contra, punitis ingeniis, gliſcit auctoritas.* Nor did ever any Government, who practiſed impolitick Severity, get any thing by it, but Infamy to themſelves, and Renown to thoſe who ſuffered under it. This alſo is an Obſervation of *Tacitus: Neque aliud reges, qui ea ſævitiæ uſi ſunt, niſi dedecus ſibi, atque gloriam illis peperere.*

Freedom of Speech, therefore, being of ſuch infinite Importance to the Preſervation of Liberty, every one who loves Liberty ought to encourage Freedom of Speech. Hence it is that I, living in a Country of Liberty, and under the beſt Prince upon Earth, ſhall take this very favourable Opportunity

tunity of ſerving Mankind, by warning them of the hideous Miſchiefs that they will ſuffer, if ever corrupt and wicked Men ſhall hereafter get Poſſeſſion of any State, and the Power of betraying their Maſter: And, in order to do this, I will ſhew them by what Steps they will probably proceed to accompliſh their traiterous Ends. This may be the Subject of my next.

Valerius Maximus tells us, that *Lentulus Marcellinus*, the *Roman* Conſul, having complained, in a popular Aſſembly, of the overgrown Power of *Pompey*; the whole People anſwered him with a Shout of Approbation: Upon which the Conſul told them, *Shout on, Gentlemen, ſhout on, and uſe thoſe bold Signs of Liberty while you may; for I do not know how long they will be allowed you.*

God be thanked, we *Engliſhmen* have neither loſt our Liberties, nor are in Danger of loſing them. Let us always cheriſh this matchleſs Bleſſing, almoſt peculiar to ourſelves; that our Poſterity may, many Ages hence, aſcribe their Freedom to our Zeal. The Defence of Liberty is a noble, a heavenly Office; which can only be performed where Liberty is: For, as the ſame *Valerius Maximus* obſerves, *Quid ergo Libertas ſine* Catone? *Non magis quam* Cato *ſine Libertate.*

G

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *February* 11, 1720. No. 16.

The Leaders of Parties, their uſual Views. — Advice to all Parties to be no longer miſled.

SIR,

THE wiſe *Sancha Pancha* deſired that his Subjects in the promiſed Iſland might be all Blacks, becauſe he would ſell them. And this ſeems to be the firſt modeſt, and, as I think, the only reaſonable Deſire of the Leaders of all Parties; for no Man will be at the Expence and Fatigue of Body and Conſcience, which is neceſſary to lead a Faction, only to be diſturbed and annoyed by them.

A very great Authority (*) has told us, that *'Tis worth no Man's Time to ſerve a Party, unleſs he can now and then get good Jobbs by it.* This, I can ſafely ſay, has been the conſtant Principle and Practice of every leading Patriot, ever ſince I have been capable of obſerving publick Tranſactions; the *primum Mobile*, the *Alpha* and *Omega* of all their Actions: They all profeſſed to have in View only the Publick Good, yet every one ſhewed he only meant his own; and all the while the great as well as little Mob, the *procerum turba Mobilium*, contended as fiercely for their Leaders, as if their Happineſs or Miſery depended upon the Face, the Cloaths, or Title of the Perſons who robbed and betrayed them. Thus the Highwayman

(*) This was ſaid to have been ſpoken by a certain Lord Chancellor in former Times.

ſaid

ſaid to the Traveller, *Pray, Sir, leave your Watch and Money in my Hands; or elſe, by G—, you will be robbed.*

Pound a Fool in a Mortar, and he comes out never the wiſer; no Experience will make the Bulk of Mankind ſo, or put them upon their Guard; they will be caught over and over again by the ſame Baits and ſtale Stratagems: No ſooner is a Party betrayed by one Head, but they rail at him, and ſet up another; and when this has ſerved them in the ſame manner, they chooſe a Third; and put full Confidence in every one of them ſucceſſively, though they all make the ſame Uſe of their Credulity; that is, put a Price upon their Calves Heads, and ſell them; which, however, they have the leſs Reaſon to complain of, becauſe they would have all done the ſame.

I aſſure you, Sir, that I have not the leaſt Hopes in this Letter to make Men honeſter, but I would gladly teach them a little more Wit; that is, I would adviſe any one who is contented to be ſold, that he receive the Money himſelf, and take good Care of One, whatever becomes of his Neighbours; as ſome diſcreet Perſons have lately done. Whatever Bargains are ſtruck up amongſt the Betrayers of their Country, we muſt find the Money, and pay both Sides. How wiſe and advantageous would it then be for us, not to intereſt ourſelves in the Agreements or Squabbles of ambitious Men, who are building their Fortunes upon our Ruin? Once upon a Time, a *French* Ambaſſador deſired an Audience of the Grand Vizier, and in pompous *French* Fuſtian notified to him, that his Maſter had won a great Victory over the *Germans*; to which that wiſe

Miniſter anſwered Laconically, *What is it to me, if the whole Herd of Unbelievers, like Dogs, mutually worry one another, ſo that my Maſter's Head be ſafe?*

This Letter of Advice is not intended for thoſe who ſhare already in the publick Spoils, or who, like Jackalls, hunt down the Lion's Prey, that they may have the picking of the Bones, when their Maſters are glutted. But I would perſuade the poor, the injured, the diſtreſſed People, to be no longer the Dupes and Property of Hypocrites and Traytors. But very few can ſhare in the Wages of Iniquity, and all the reſt muſt ſuffer: The People's Intereſt is the Publick Intereſt; it ſignifies the ſame Thing: Whatever theſe Betrayers of their Country get, the People muſt loſe; and, what is worſe, muſt loſe a great deal more than the others can get; for ſuch Conſpiracies and Extortions cannot be ſucceſsfully carried on, without deſtroying or injuring Trade, perverting Juſtice, corrupting the Guardians of the publick Liberty, and the almoſt total Diſſolution of the Principles of Government.

Few can receive the Advantages ariſing from publick Misfortunes; and therefore methinks few ſhould deſire them. Indeed, I can eaſily ſee how Men of deſperate Circumſtances, or Men guilty of deſperate Crimes, can find their Account in a general Confuſion of all Things. I can ſee how thoſe Prieſts who aim at Tyranny, can find their Intereſt in the Loſs of publick Liberty, in the Reſtraint of the Preſs, and in introducing a Religion which deſtroys Chriſtianity: There are Reaſons too at hand, why ambitious Men ſhould, *per fas & nefas*, graſp at the Poſſeſſion of immenſe Wealth,

Wealth, High Honours, and exorbitant Power: But that the Gentry, the Body of the People in a free Nation, ſhould become the Tools and Inſtruments of Knaves and Pick-pockets; ſhould liſt themſelves in their Quarrels, and fight their Battles; and this too, often at the Expence, and by the Violation of good Neighbourhood, near Relation, private Friendſhip: that Men of great Eſtates and Quality, for ſmall and trifling Conſiderations, and ſometimes none at all, ſhould promote wild, villainous Projects, to the Ruin of themſelves and Country, by making precarious their own Titles to their Lives, Eſtates, and Liberties, is ſomething ſo ſtupendous, that it muſt be thought impoſſible, if daily Experience did not convince us that it is more than poſſible.

I have often ſeen honeſt *Tories* fooliſhly defending knaviſh *Tories*; and untainted *Whigs* protecting corrupt *Whigs*, even in Inſtances where they acted againſt the Principles of all *Whigs*; and by that Means depreciated *Whiggiſm* itſelf, and gave the ſtupid Herd Occaſion to believe that they had no Principles at all, but were only a factious Combination for Preferment and Power.

It is high Time, at laſt, for the Bubbles of all Parties, for *Whigs* and *Tories*, for High Church and Low Church, to come to an *Eclairciſſement*, and no longer ſuffer themſelves to be bought and ſold by their Drivers: Let them ceaſe to be Calves and Sheep, and they will not be uſed like Calves and Sheep. If they can be perſuaded now and then to confer Notes, they will find, that for the moſt part the Differences between them are not material; that they take only different Meaſures to attain the ſame Ends; that they have

but

but one common Intereſt, which is the Intereſt of their Country; and that is, to be freed from Oppreſſion, and to puniſh their Oppreſſors: whoſe Practice, on the contrary, will always be to form Parties, and blow up Factions to mutual Animoſities, that they may find Protection in thoſe Animoſities.

Let us not therefore, for the Time to come, ſuffer ourſelves to be engaged in empty and pernicious Contentions; which can only tend to make us the Property and Harveſt of Pick-pockets: Let us learn to value an honeſt Man of another Party, more than a Knave of our own: Let the only Contention be, who ſhall be moſt ready to ſpew out their own Rogues; and I will be anſwerable that all other Differences will ſoon be at an End. Indeed, there had been no ſuch Thing as Party now in *England*, if we had not been betrayed by thoſe whom we truſted.

Through the Villainy and knaviſh Deſigns of Leaders, this Nation has loſt ſeveral glorious Opportunities of reſcuing the Conſtitution, and ſettling it upon a firm and ſolid Baſis: Let us not therefore, by the like Practices, loſe the preſent favourable Offer: Let us make Earnings of our Misfortunes, and accept our Calamities as an Opportunity thrown into our Laps by indulgent Providence, to ſave ourſelves; and not again fooliſhly and ungratefully reject and ſpurn at the Intimations and Invitations of Heaven, to preſerve our Prince and Country.

Machiavel tells us, that no Government can long ſubſiſt, but by recurring often to its firſt Principles; but this can never be done while Men live at Eaſe and in Luxury; for then they cannot

be

be perſuaded to ſee diſtant Dangers, of which they feel no Part. The Conjunctures proper for ſuch Reformations, are when Men are awakened by Misfortunes, and frighted with the Approach and near View of preſent Evils; then they will wiſh for Remedies, and their Minds are prepared to receive them, to hear Reaſons, and to fall into Meaſures propoſed by wiſe Men for their Security.

The great Authority juſt quoted informs us what Meaſures and Expedients are neceſſary to ſave a State under ſuch Exigencies: He tells us, that as a Tyranny cannot be eſtabliſhed but by deſtroying *Brutus*; ſo a free Government is not to be preſerved but by deſtroying *Brutus*'s Sons. Let us therefore put on a Reſolution equal to the mighty Occaſion: Let us exert a Spirit worthy of *Britons*, worthy of Freemen who deſerve Liberty. Let us take Advantage of the Opportunity, while Mens Reſentments boil high, whilſt leſſer Animoſities ſeem to be laid aſide, and moſt Men are ſick of Party and Party-Leaders; and let us, by all proper Methods, exemplarily puniſh the Parricides, and avowed Enemies of all Mankind.

Let neither private Acquaintance, perſonal Alliance, or Party Combination, ſtand between us and our Duty to our Country: Let all thoſe who have a common Intereſt in the publick Safety, join in common Meaſures to defend the publick Safety: Let us purſue to Diſgrace, Deſtruction, and even Death, thoſe who have brought this Ruin upon us, let them be ever ſo great, or ever ſo many: Let us ſtamp and deep engrave, in Characters legible to all *Europe* at preſent, and to all Poſterity hereafter, what Vengeance is due to Crimes, which have no leſs Objects in View than the

the Ruin of Nations, and the Deſtruction of Millions: They have made many bold, deſperate, and wicked Attempts to deſtroy us; let us ſtrike one honeſt and bold Stroke to deſtroy them.

Though the Deſigns of the Conſpirators ſhould be laid deep as the Center, though they ſhould raiſe Hell itſelf in their Quarrel, and ſhould fetch Legions of Votaries from thence to avow their Proceedings; yet let us not leave the Purſuit, till we have their Skins and Eſtates: We know, by paſt Experience, that there are thoſe amongſt us, who will be glad to quit the Chaſe, when our Villains, like Beavers, drop what they are uſually hunted for; but the Nation is now too much provoked, and too much injured, to ſuffer themſelves to be again ſo betrayed.

We have Heaven to direct us, a glorious King to lead us, and a wiſe and faithful Parliament to aſſiſt and protect us: Whilſt we have ſuch a King, and ſuch a Parliament, every worthy *Briton* cries out aloud,

Manus hæc inimica Tyrannis
Enſe petit placidam, ſub libertate quietem.

T *I am*, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *February* 18, 1720. No. 17.

What Meaſures are actually taken by wicked and deſperate Miniſters to ruin and enſlave their Country.

SIR,

AS under the beſt Princes, and the beſt Servants to Princes alone, it is ſafe to ſpeak what is true of the worſt; ſo, according to my former Promiſe to the Publick, I ſhall take the Advantage of our excellent King's moſt gentle Government, and the virtuous Adminiſtration of an uncorrupt Miniſtry, to warn Mankind againſt the Miſchiefs which may hereafter be dreaded from corrupt ones. It is too true, that every Country in the World has ſometimes groaned under that heavy Misfortune, and our own as much as any; though I cannot allow it to be true, what Monſieur *de Witt* has long ſince obſerved, that the *Engliſh* Court has always been the moſt thieviſh Court in *Europe*.

Few Men have been deſperate enough to attack openly, and bareſaced, the Liberties of a free People. Such avowed Conſpirators can rarely ſucceed: The Attempt would deſtroy itſelf. Even when the Enterprize is begun and viſible, the End muſt be hid, or denied. It is the Buſineſs and Policy of Traytors, ſo to diſguiſe their Treaſon with plauſible Names, and ſo to recommend it with popular and bewitching Colours, that they themſelves ſhall be adored, while their Work is deteſted, and yet carried on by thoſe that deteſt it.

Thus

Thus one Nation has been ſurrendered to another under the fair Name of mutual Alliance: The Fortreſſes of a Nation have been given up, or attempted to be given up, under the frugal Notion of ſaving Charges to a Nation; and Commonwealths have been trepanned into Slavery, by Troops raiſed or increaſed to defend them from Slavery.

It may therefore be of Service to the World, to ſhew what Meaſures have been taken by corrupt Miniſters, in ſome of our neighbouring Countries, to ruin and enſlave the People over whom they preſided; to ſhew by what Steps and Gradations of Miſchief Nations have been undone, and conſequently what Methods may be hereafter taken to undo others: And this Subject I rather chooſe, becauſe my Countrymen may be the more ſenſible of, and know how to value, the ineſtimable Bleſſing of living under the beſt Prince, and the beſt eſtabliſhed Government in the Univerſe, where we have none of theſe Things to fear.

Such Traytors will probably endeavour firſt to get their Prince into their Poſſeſſion, and, like *Sejanus*, ſhut him up in a little Iſland, or perhaps make him a Priſoner in his Court; whilſt, with full Range, they devour his Dominions, and plunder his Subjects. When he is thus ſecluded from the Acceſs of his Friends, and the Knowledge of his Affairs, he muſt be content with ſuch Miſrepreſentations as they ſhall find expedient to give him. Falſe Caſes will be ſtated, to juſtify wicked Counſel; wicked Counſel will be given, to procure unjuſt Orders. He will be made to miſtake his Foes for his Friends, his Friends for his Foes; and to believe that his Affairs are in the

higheſt Proſperity, when they are in the greateſt Diſtreſs; and that publick Matters go on in the greateſt Harmony, when they are in the utmoſt Confuſion.

They will be ever contriving and forming wicked and dangerous Projects, to make the People poor, and themſelves rich; well knowing that Dominion follows Property; that where there are Wealth and Power, there will be always Crowds of ſervile Dependents; and that, on the contrary, Poverty dejects the Mind, faſhions it for Slavery, and renders it unequal to any generous Undertakeing, and incapable of oppoſing any bold Uſurpation. They will ſquander away the publick Money in wanton Preſents to Minions, and their Creatures of Pleaſure or of Burthen, or in Penſions to mercenary and worthleſs Men and Women, for vile Ends and traiterous Purpoſes.

They will engage their Country in ridiculous, expenſive, fantaſtical Wars, to keep the Minds of Men in continual Hurry and Agitation, and under conſtant Fears and Alarms; and, by ſuch Means, deprive them both of Leiſure and Inclination to look into publick Miſcarriages. Men, on the contrary, will, inſtead of ſuch Inſpection, be diſpoſed to fall into all Meaſures offered, ſeemingly, for their Defence, and will agree to every wild Demand made by thoſe who are betraying them.

When they have ſerved their Ends by ſuch Wars, or have other Motives to make Peace, they will have no View to the publick Intereſt; but will often, to procure ſuch Peace, deliver up the Strong-Holds of their Country, or its Colonies for Trade, to open Enemies, ſuſpected Friends,

Friends, or dangerous Neighbours, that they may not be interrupted in their domeſtick Deſigns.

They will create Parties in the Commonwealth, or keep them up where they already are; and, by playing them by turns upon each other, will rule both. By making the *Guelfs* afraid of the *Ghibilines*, and theſe afraid of the *Guelfs*, they will make themſelves the Mediums and Balance between the two Factions; and both Factions, in their Turns, the Props of their Authority, and the Inſtruments of their Deſigns.

They will not ſuffer any Men, who have once taſted of Authority, though perſonally their Enemies, and whoſe Poſts they enjoy, to be called to an Account for paſt Crimes, though ever ſo enormous. They will make no ſuch Precedents for their own Puniſhment; nor cenſure Treaſon, which they intend to commit. On the contrary, they will form new Conſpiracies, and invent new Fences for their own Impunity and Protection; and endeavour to engage ſuch Numbers in their Guilt, as to ſet themſelves above all Fear of Puniſhment.

They will prefer worthleſs and wicked Men, and not ſuffer a Man of Knowledge or Honeſty to come near them, or enjoy a Poſt under them. They will diſgrace Men of Virtue, and ridicule Virtue itſelf, and laugh at Publick Spirit. They will put Men into Employments, without any Regard to the Qualifications for thoſe Employments, or indeed to any Qualifications at all, but as they contribute to their Deſigns, and ſhew a ſtupid Alacrity to do what they are bid. They muſt be either Fools or Beggars; either void of Capa-

Capacity to diſcover their Intrigues, or of Credit and Inclination to diſappoint them.

They will promote Luxury, Idleneſs, and Expence, and a general Depravation of Manners, by their own Example, as well as by Connivance and publick Encouragement. This will not only divert Mens Thoughts from examining their Behaviour and Politicks, but likewiſe let them looſe from all the Reſtraints of private and publick Virtue. From Immorality and Exceſſes they will fall into Neceſſity; and from thence into a ſervile Dependence upon Power.

In order to this, they will bring into Faſhion Gaming, Drunkenneſs, Gluttony, and profuſe and coſtly Dreſs. They will debauch their Country with foreign Vices, and foreign Inſtruments of vicious Pleaſures; and will contrive and encourage publick Revels, nightly Diſguiſes, and debauched Mummeries.

They will, by all practicable Means of Oppreſſion, provoke the People to Diſaffection; and then make that Diſaffection an Argument for new Oppreſſion, for not truſting them any further, and for keeping up Troops; and, in fine, for depriveing them of Liberties and Privileges, to which they are entitled by their Birth, and the Laws of their Country.

If ſuch Meaſures ſhould ever be taken in any free Country, where the People chooſe Deputies to repreſent them, then they will endeavour to bribe the Electors in the Choice of their Repreſentatives, and ſo to get a Council of their own Creatures; and where they cannot ſucceed with the Electors, they will endeavour to corrupt the Deputies after they are choſen, with the Money given

for

for the publick Defence; and to draw into the Perpetration of their Crimes thoſe very Men, from whom the betrayed People expect the Redreſs of their Grievances, and the Puniſhment of thoſe Crimes. And when they have thus made the Repreſentatives of the People afraid of the People, and the People afraid of their Repreſentatives; then they will endeavour to perſuade thoſe Deputies to ſeize the Government to themſelves, and not to truſt their Principals any longer with the Power of reſenting their Treachery and ill Uſage, and of ſending honeſter and wiſer Men in their room.

But if the Conſtitution ſhould be ſo ſtubbornly framed, that it will ſtill preſerve itſelf and the People's Liberties, in ſpite of all villainous Contrivances to deſtroy both; then muſt the Conſtitution itſelf be attacked and broken, becauſe it will not bend. There muſt be an Endeavour, under ſome Pretence of publick Good, to alter a Balance of the Government, and to get it into the ſole Power of their Creatures, and of ſuch who will have conſtantly an Intereſt diſtinct from that of the Body of the People.

But if all theſe Schemes for the Ruin of the Publick, and their own Impunity, ſhould fail them; and the worthy Patriots of a free Country ſhould prove obſtinate in Defence of their Country, and reſolve to call its Betrayers to a ſtrict Account; there is then but one thing left for ſuch Traytors to do; namely, to veer about, and, by joining with the Enemy of their Prince and Country, complete their Treaſon.

I have ſomewhere read of a Favourite and Firſt Miniſter to a neighbouring Prince, long ſince dead,

dead, who played his Part ſo well, that, though he had, by his evil Counſels, raiſed a Rebellion, and a Conteſt for the Crown; yet he preſerved himſelf a Reſource, whoever got the better: If his old Maſter ſucceeded, then this *Achitophel*, by the Help of a baffled Rebellion, ever favourable to Princes, had the Glory of fixing his Maſter in abſolute Power: But, as his brave Rival got the Day, *Achitophel* had the Merit of betraying his old Maſter to plead; and was accordingly taken into Favour.

Happy therefore, thrice happy, are we, who can be unconcerned Spectators of the Miſeries which the greateſt Part of *Europe* is reduced to ſuffer, having loſt their Liberties by the Intrigues and Wickedneſs of thoſe whom they truſted; whilſt we continue in full Enjoyment of ours, and can be in no Danger of loſing them, while we have ſo excellent a King, aſſiſted and obeyed by ſo wiſe a Parliament.

T *I am*, &c.

SATURDAY, *February* 25, 1720. No. 18.

The terrible Tendency of publick Corruption to ruin a State, exemplified in that of Rome, *and applied to our own.*

SIR,

VENALIS civitas mox peritura ſi emptorem inveniat! "Mercenary City, ripe for Deſtruc-
"tion, and juſt ready to deliver up thyſelf, and
"all thy Liberties, to the firſt Bidder, who is
"able

" able to buy thee!" ſaid the great King *Jugurtha*, when he was leaving *Rome*. *Rome*, the Nurſe of Heroes, the Miſtreſs of Nations, the Glory of Empires, and the Source, the Standard, and Pattern of Virtue and Knowledge, and, indeed, of every Thing which ever was praiſe-worthy and valuable amongſt Men, was ſoon after fallen, fallen Ten Thouſand Thouſand Fathoms deep in the Abyſs of Corruption and Impiety: No more of that publick Spirit appeared, that rendered it amiable, as well as terrible, to the World: It had conquered by its Virtue more than its Arms: It had commanded a willing Subjection from the numerous Nations, who readily acknowledged its ſuperior Genius and natural Right to Empire, and afterwards their own Condition to be graced by the Dignity of ſuch a Miſtreſs.

" But (ſays the Abbot *Vertot*) about this Time " another Nation ſeemed to appear upon the " Stage: A general Corruption ſoon ſpread itſelf " through all Degrees of the State: Juſtice was " publickly ſold in the Tribunals: The Voices of " the People went to the higheſt Bidder; and the " Conſuls, having obtained that great Poſt by In- " trigues, or by Bribery, never now made War " but to enrich themſelves with the Spoils of Na- " tions, and often to plunder thoſe very Provin- " ces, which their Duty bound them to protect " and defend. — The Provinces were obliged to " ſupply theſe prodigious Expences: The Gene- " rals poſſeſſed themſelves of the Revenues of the " Commonwealth; and the State was weakened " in proportion as its Members became powerful. " —It was ſufficient Colour for rifling the People,

" and

" and laying new Impoſts, if they did but give " thoſe Exactions a new Name.

" There aroſe on a ſudden, and as it were " by Enchantment, magnificent Palaces, whoſe " Walls, Roofs, and Cielings were all gilded : " It was not enough that their Beds and Tables " were all of Silver; that rich Metal muſt alſo be " carved and adorned with *Baſſo Relievo's*, per- " formed by the moſt excellent Artiſts.—All the " Money of the State was in the Hands of the " Great Men, the Publicans, and certain Freed- " men richer than their Maſters.

He ſays, " It would make a Volume to repre- " ſent the Magnificence of their Buildings, the " Richneſs of their Habits, the Jewels they wore, " the prodigious Number of Slaves, Freed-men, " and Clients, by which they were conſtantly at- " tended, and eſpecially the Expence and Profu- " ſion of their Tables: They were not contented, " if, in the midſt of Winter, the *Falernian* Wine " that was preſented them was not ſtrewed with " Roſes; and cooled in Veſſels of Gold in Sum- " mer: Their Side-Boards groaned under the " Weight and Load of Plate, both Silver and " Gold: They valued the Feaſt only by the Coſt- " lineſs of the Diſhes that were ſerved up; Phea- " ſants muſt be fetched for them through all the " Dangers of the Sea; and, to complete their " Corruption, after the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, they " began to introduce Women-Singers and Dancers " into their Entertainments.

" What Defenders of Liberty, *ſays he*, are " here? What an Omen of approaching Sla- " very? None could be greater, than to ſee " Valour leſs regarded in a State than Luxury;

" to

" to ſee the poor Officer languiſhing in the ob-
" ſcure Honours of a Legion, whilſt the Gran-
" dees concealed their Cowardice, and dazzled
" the Eyes of the Publick, by the Magnificence
" of their Equipage, and the Profuſion of their
" Expence.

But what did all this Profuſion and Magnificence produce? Pleaſure ſucceeded in the room of Temperance, Idleneſs took place of the Love of Buſineſs, and private Regards extinguiſhed that Love of Liberty, that Zeal and Warmth, which their Anceſtors had ſhewn for the Intereſt of the Publick; Luxury and Pride became faſhionable; all Ranks and Orders of Men tried to outvie one another in Expence and Pomp; and when, by ſo doing, they had ſpent their private Patrimonies, they endeavoured to make Repriſals upon the Publick; and, having before ſold every thing elſe, at laſt ſold their Country.

The Publick Treaſure was ſquandered away, and divided amongſt private Men; and new Demands made, and new Taxes and Burthens laid upon the People, to continue and ſupport this Extravagance. Such Conduct in the Great Ones occaſioned Murmurings, univerſal Diſcontent, and at laſt Civil Wars. The People threw themſelves under different Heads or Leaders of Parties, who all aſpired to make themſelves Maſters of the Commonwealth, and of the publick Liberty; and, during the Struggle, *Rome* and all *Italy* was but one Slaughter-Houſe. Thouſands, Hundreds of Thouſands, fell Sacrifices to the Ambition of a few: Rivers of Blood ran in the publick Streets, and Proſcriptions and Maſſacres were eſteemed Sport and Paſtime; till at length

Two

Two Thirds of the People were deſtroyed, and the reſt made Slaves to the moſt wicked and contemptible Wretches of Mankind.

Thus ended the greateſt, the nobleſt State that ever adorned the worldly Theatre, that ever the Sun ſaw: It fell a Victim to Ambition and Faction, to baſe and unworthy Men, to Parricides and Traytors; and every other Nation muſt run the ſame Fortune, expect the ſame fatal Cataſtrophe, who ſuffer themſelves to be debauched with the ſame Vices, and are actuated by the ſame Principles and Paſſions.

I wiſh I could ſay, that the Abbot *Vertot*'s Deſcription of the *Roman* State, in its laſt Declenſion, ſuited no other State in our own Time. I hope that we ourſelves have none of theſe Corruptions and Abuſes to complain of: I am ſure, if we have, that it is high time to reform them, and to prevent the diſmal Evils which they threaten. It is wild to think that there is any other Way to prevent the Conſequence, without preventing the Corruption, and the Cauſes which produce it: Mankind will be always the ſame, will always act within one Circle; and when we know what they did a Thouſand Years ago in any Circumſtance, we ſhall know what they will do a Thouſand Years hence in the ſame. This is what is called Experience, the ſureſt Miſtreſs and Leſſon of Wiſdom.

Let us therefore grow wiſe by the Misfortunes of others: Let us make uſe of the *Roman* Language, as a Vehicle of good Senſe, and uſeful Inſtruction; and not uſe it like Pedants, Prieſts, and Pedagogues. Let their Virtues and their Vices, and the Puniſhment of them too, be an Example to

us; and ſo prevent our Miſeries from being an Example to other Nations: Let us avoid the Rocks upon which they have ſuffered Shipwreck, and ſet up Buoys and Sea-Marks to warn and guide Poſterity. In fine, let us examine and look narrowly into every Part of our Conſtitution, and ſee if any Corruptions or Abuſes have crept or galloped into it. Let us ſearch our Wounds to the Core, without which it is beyond the Power of Surgery to apply ſuitable Remedies.

Our preſent Misfortunes will rouſe up our Spirits, and, as it were, awaken us out of a deep Lethargy. It is true, indeed, that they came upon us like a Storm of Thunder and Lightning in a clear Sky, and when the Heavens ſeemed more ſerene; but the combuſtible Matter was prepared before: Steams and Exhalations had been long gathering from Bogs and Jakes; and though they ſome time ſeemed diſperſed and far removed by the Heat of a warm Sun, yet the Firmament was all the while impregnating with Fire and Brimſtone; and now on a ſudden the Clouds thicken, and look black and big on every Side, and threaten us with a Hurricane.

Let us therefore act the Part of skilful Pilots, and call all Hands to labour at the Oars and at the Ropes: Let us begin with throwing all our Luggage and uſeleſs Trumpery over-board; then let us lower or take down all ſuperfluous Sails, to prevent the Boat from being overſet; and when we have done all in our Power to ſave the Ship, let us implore the Aſſiſtance of Heaven; and I doubt not but we ſhall out-ride the Storm.

Quid times? Cæſarem *vehis.* — We have King *George* on Board, and at the Helm; the Favourite of Heaven, and the Darling of all good Men; who

who not only gives us full Leave, but encourages and aſſiſts us, to ſave ourſelves: He will not, like ſome weak Princes amongſt his Predeceſſors, skreen guilty Great Men, ſuffer the Faults of others to be laid at his Door, nor permit his Authority to be proſtituted to patronize Criminals; nor interpoſe and ſtand between his People's juſt Reſentment and the Puniſhment of worthleſs Favourites, of which Sort of Cattle he has none; ſo that it is our own Fault if we are not happy, great, and free.

Indeed, we owe that Juſtice and Duty to our great Benefactor, as not only fairly and impartially to repreſent to him our Circumſtances, and how we came into them; but to do all in our Power to put our Conſtitution on ſuch a Bottom, if any thing be wanting to it, that he may have the Honour and Pleaſure of reigning over a free and happy People. This will be to make our Gift complete, in preſenting him with a Crown, not beſet with any Difficulties; a glorious Crown, and not to mock him with one of Thorns.

I ſhall ſoon, in ſome other Letter, offer my Thoughts from what Sources theſe Miſchiefs have flowed upon us, and what Methods I conceive are eſſentially neceſſary to retrieve them.

T

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *March* 4, 1720. No. 19.

The Force of popular Affection and Antipathy to particular Men.—How powerfully it operates, and how far to be regarded.

SIR,

OPINION and Reputation have often the greateſt Share in governing the Affairs of the World. Miſled by the great Biaſs of Superſtition, every where found in human Nature, or by Ignorance and Prejudices, proceeding as often from Education itſelf, as from the Want of it, we often take the Appearance of Things for Things themſelves, miſtake our own Imaginations for Realities, our Deluſions for Certainties and Truth. A very ſmall Part of Mankind is exempted from the deluſive Influence of Omens, Preſages, and Prognoſticks.

Theſe and the like Superſtitions enter into every Scene of private and publick Life: Gameſters throw away the Cards and Dice which they had loſt by, and call for others, without any other Preference than that they are not the ſame: Gardeners pretend to plant Trees in a fortunate Seaſon: Many People will not marry, or do any Buſineſs, but on certain Days accounted proſperous: Even Generals have had their fortunate and unfortunate Times and Seaſons; and have often declined coming to a Battle, when the Advantage was apparently on their Side, merely becauſe the Day, or Time of the Day, was ill-boding.

Now,

Now, though all the Whimſies of this Kind have no Foundation, but in Opinion; yet they often produce as certain and regular Events, as if the Cauſes were adequate in their own Nature to the Events. The Opinion of a Phyſician or a Medicine, does often effect the Cure of a Patient, by giving his Mind ſuch Eaſe and Acquieſcence as can alone produce Health. The Opinion of a General, or of a Cauſe, makes an Army fight with double Vigour; and a Confidence in the Wiſdom and Integrity of Governors, makes a Nation exert its utmoſt Efforts for its own Security; whereas by a Diſtruſt of its Rulers, it often ſinks into a univerſal Indifference and Deſpondency. The Change alone of a General, or of a Miniſter, has often changed the Fortune and Diſpoſition of a People, even where there has been no ſuperior Endowments in the Succeſſor; for if they can be made to believe, that their Misfortunes are owing to the ill Conduct or ill Genius of thoſe who command them, the Removal of the ſuppoſed Cauſe of their Misfortunes will inſpire them with new Courage and Reſolution; which are almoſt always rewarded with Succeſs and Victory.

From hence the moſt famous Legiſlators, Princes and Generals have endeavoured to inſtil into their Followers an Opinion of their being more than human, as being deſcended from, or related to, ſome God; or have aſſerted a familiar Communion with the Gods, a Right to explain their Wills, and to execute their Commands. By theſe Means they obtained an unlimited Confidence in their Abilities, a cheerful Submiſſion to their Au-

thority, an Aſſurance of Succeſs under their Conduct.

Where perſonal Virtues and Qualifications, by which the above Pretenſions are ſupported, are wanting, as in the ſucceſſive Eaſtern Monarchies; other Arts are uſed to gain Admiration, to draw Reverence to the Perſons of their Princes, and blind Obedience to their Power. Thoſe ſtately Tyrants are, for the moſt part, ſhut up in their Palaces, where every thing is auguſt about them: They ſeldom ſhew themſelves abroad to their People; and when they do, it is in the moſt awful and aſtoniſhing Manner, attended by numerous Guards, richly habited, and armed; whilſt their own Perſons are covered with Gold and Pearl, and glittering with Diamonds; and perhaps the Horſes and Elephants they ride on are all in a Blaze of Gold and precious Stones.

The demure Faces and deep Silence of their Miniſters and Attendants, contribute to ſpread the general Awe; which is ſtill heightened by the ſolemn Clangor of Trumpets, and other warlike Sounds. All this prepares the gaping and enchanted Multitude to ſwallow, with equal Credulity and Wonder, the plauſible Stories artfully given out amongſt them, of the ſublime and celeſtial Qualities of their Emperors, inſomuch that even their very Images are worſhipped.

Indeed, in Countries where Liberty is eſtabliſhed, and People think for themſelves, all the above Arts and Pretences would be ridiculous, and ſuch Farce and Grimace would be laughed at. The People have Senſe enough to know, that all this Profuſion and Wealth are their own Spoils; that they

they muſt labour and want, that others may be idle and abound; and they will ſee that their Poverty is encreaſed, and their Miſeries aggravated and mocked, by the Pomp and Luxury of their Maſters.

Amongſt ſuch People virtuous and juſt Actions, or the Appearance of virtuous and juſt Actions, are the only Ways of gaining Eſteem, Reverence, and Submiſſion. They muſt ſee, or fancy they ſee, that the Views and Meaſures of their Governors tend honeſtly and only to the publick Welfare and Proſperity, and they muſt find their own Account in their Obedience. A Prince who deals thus with his People, can rarely be in Danger from diſaffected Subjects, or powerful Neighbours; his faithful People will be his conſtant Guard; and, finding their own Security in his Government, will be always ready at his Call to take effectual Vengeance upon thoſe who ſhall attempt to oppoſe or undermine his juſt Authority.

However, the wiſeſt and moſt free People are not without their Superſtitions and their Foibles; and prudent Governors will take Advantage of them, and endeavour to apply them to the publick Benefit. The *Romans* themſelves had their *Dies faſtos & nefaſtos*, their fortunate and unfortunate Generals; and ſometimes empty Names have been eſteemed Endowments and Merit. Another *Scipio* was appointed by the *Romans* to demoliſh *Carthage*, which was firſt ſubdued by the Great *Scipio*; and the *Athenians* called for another *Phormio* for their War at *Lepanto*.

Generals and Miniſters have been oftentimes diſgraced, even by wiſe Nations, for making unfortunate Expeditions, or for unfortunate Conduct in directing the publick Affairs, when there was

no Deceit, or Want of Virtue, in thoſe Generals and Miniſters; for if a Nation or an Army take an univerſal, though an unreaſonable, Diſguſt at one or a few Men, it is ridiculous to bring his or their Intereſt in Balance with the Satisfaction and Affections of Millions, or much leſs than Millions. Prudent Princes therefore have been always extremely cautious how they employed Men in any conſiderable Station, who were either odious or contemptible, even though it happened that they were innocently and unfortunately ſo.

Indeed this can ſeldom happen; for a virtuous and modeſt Man will never thruſt himſelf into the Service of his Prince, nor continue longer in it than he is acceptable to the People: He will know that he can do no real Good to a Country, which will receive no Good at his Hands; that the publick Jealouſy will miſrepreſent his whole Conduct, render his beſt Deſigns abortive, his beſt Actions uſeleſs; that he will be a Clog and a dead Weight upon the Affairs of his Prince; and that the general Diſtaſte taken at him, will, by degrees, make his Prince the Object of general Diſtaſte.

But when Miniſters have deſervedly incurred the general Hatred; when they have been known to have employed their whole Power and Intereſt in Oppoſition to the Publick Intereſt; when, being truſted with a Nation's Affairs, they have deſperately projected, and obſtinately purſued, Schemes big with publick Ruin; when they have weakened the Authority of their Prince to ſtrengthen their own, and endangered his Safety for the Security of their own Heads, and the Protection of their Crimes; when they have thriven by the publick Ruin;

Ruin; and, being the known Authors of univerſal Calamities, have become the proper Objects of ſuch univerſal Deteſtation, as not to have one real Friend in their Country, or one ſincere Advocate even amongſt the many that they have bribed to be ſo: If, after all this, they will go on to brave a Nation which they have before ruined, confidently continue at the Head of Affairs, and obſtinately perſiſt to overturn their King and Country; this, I ſay, is aggravating their Crimes, by an Inſolence which no publick Reſentment can equal.

This was the Caſe of *England* under the Influence of *Gaveſton* and the two *Spencers*; and this was the Caſe of the *Netherlands* under the Adminiſtration of the Duke of *Alva*; which Miniſters ſeverally ruined their Maſters and their Country. Nations under ſuch woful Conduct, and unlucky Conſtellations, are often driven into Revolts, or loſe all Courage to defend themſelves, either againſt the Attacks from their native Traytors, or foreign Invaders.

This is famouſly verified in the Story of the *Decemviri*, a College of Magiſtrates created by the *Romans* for one Year, to compile and eſtabliſh a Body of Laws. This Term was thought long enough, and undoubtedly was ſo; but theſe deſigning Men, under the plauſible Colour of adding Two more Tables to the Ten already finiſhed and publiſhed, got their Sitting prolonged for another Year: nor at the expiring of that, though the Two Tables were added, did they diſſolve themſelves; but, in Defiance of the People who choſe them, and now every where murmured againſt

them, as well as ſuffered by them, continued their Authority.

The City of *Rome* ſaw itſelf under a new Government; *Deploratur in perpetuum libertas, nec vindex quiſquam extitit, aut futurus videtur:* The Conſtitution was gone; and though all Men complained, yet none offered to help. Whilſt the *Romans* were thus deſponding at Home, they were deſpiſed Abroad: The neighbouring Nations were provoked, that Dominion ſhould ſtill ſubſiſt in a City, where Liberty ſubſiſted no longer. The *Roman* Territories therefore were invaded by the *Sabines* and the *Æquians*. This terrified the Faction; but I do not find that it troubled the People, who neither feared nor hated foreign Invaders half ſo much as their own domeſtick Traytors. The deſperate Parricides determined rather to ſacrifice their Country, than loſe their Places; ſo to War they went, but with miſerable Succeſs. They managed the War no better than they did the State; and had no more Credit in the Camp than in the City: The Soldiers would not fight under deteſted Leaders, but ran away before the Enemy, and ſuffered a ſhameful Rout.

Nor did this Loſs and Diſgrace, at once unuſual and terrible to *Rome*, at all move the Traytors to reſign: They went on miſgoverning and debauching, till, the Meaſures of their Wickedneſs being full, they were driven out of their Poſts by the Vigour of the State, and the Aſſiſtance of the People. The Two chief Traytors were caſt into Priſon, the reſt into Baniſhment.

This ſoon happily changed the State of Affairs, and the Spirit of the People; who, having got at length

length an honeſt Adminiſtration, and Governors whom they loved and truſted, quickly beat the Enemy out of the Territories of *Rome*, that very Enemy, who in other Circumſtances had beaten them.

G *I am*, &c.

SATURDAY, *March* 11, 1720. No. 20.

Of publick Juſtice, how neceſſary to the Security and Well-being of a State, and how deſtructive the Neglect of it to the Britiſh *Nation. Signal Inſtances of this.*

SIR,

PArcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbos; to pay well, and hang well, to protect the Innocent, and puniſh the Oppreſſors, are the Hinges and Ligaments of Government, the chief Ends why Men enter into Societies. To attain theſe Ends, they have been content to part with their natural Rights, a great Share of their Subſtance and Induſtry; to quit their Equality, and ſubmit themſelves to thoſe who had before no Right to command them: For this Millions live willingly in an innocent and ſafe Obſcurity, to make a few Great Men, and enable them, at their Expence, to ſhine in Pomp and Magnificence.

But all this Pageantry is not deſigned for thoſe who wear it: They carry about them the Dignity of the Commonwealth: The Honours which they receive are Honours paid to the Publick, and they themſelves are only the Pillars and Images upon which National Trophies are hung; for when they

they are diveſted of theſe *Inſignia*, no more Reſpect and Homage is due to them, than what reſults from their own Virtue and Merit. Yet ſuch is the Depravity of human Nature, that few can diſtinguiſh their own Perſons from the Enſigns and Ornaments which they wear, or their Duty from their Dignity: There ſeems to be a Judgment upon all Men in certain Stations, that they can never think of the Time when they have been, or may again be, out of them.

A good Magiſtrate is the brighteſt Character upon Earth, as being moſt conducive to the Benefit of Mankind; and a bad one is a greater Monſter than ever Hell engendered: He is an Enemy and Traytor to his own Species. Where there is the greateſt Truſt, the betraying it is the greateſt Treaſon. The Faſces, the Judge, and the Executioner, do not make the Crime, but puniſh it; and the Crime is never the leſs, though it eſcape the Vengeance due to it. *Alexander*, who robbed Kingdoms and States, was a greater Felon than the Pyrate whom he put to Death, though no one was ſtrong enough to inflict the ſame Puniſhment upon him. It is no more juſt to rob with Regiments or Squadrons, than by ſingle Men or ſingle Ships; for unleſs we are determined by the Juſtice of the Action, there can be no Criterion, Boundary, or fixed Mark, to know where the Thief ends, and the Hero begins.

Muſt little Villains then ſubmit to Fate,
That great Ones may enjoy the World in State?

Shall a poor Pick-pocket be hanged for filching away a little looſe Money; and wholeſale Thieves, who rob Nations of all that they have, be eſteemed

and

and honoured? Shall a Roguery be ſanctified by the Greatneſs of it; and Impunity be purchaſed, by deſerving the higheſt Puniſhment? This is inverting the Nature of Things, confounding Virtue and Vice, and turning the World topſy-turvy.

Men who are advanced to great Stations, and are highly honoured and rewarded at the Publick Coſt, ought to look upon themſelves as Creatures of the Publick, as Machines erected and ſet up for publick Emolument and Safety. They ought to reflect, that Thouſands, Ten Thouſands of their Countrymen, have equal, or perhaps greater, Qualifications than themſelves; and that blind Fortune alone has given them their preſent Diſtinction: That the Eſtate of the Freeholder, the Hazard of the Merchant, and the Sweat of the Labourer, all contribute to their Greatneſs; and when once they can ſee themſelves in this Mirrour, they will think nothing can be too grateful, nothing too great or too hazardous to be done for ſuch Benefactors.

They will conſider, that no uncommon Application, or diſtinguiſhing Abilities, will juſtify this Superiority; that many of their Fellow-Subjects, poſſeſſing equal Merit, take much more Pains for much leſs Conſiderations; nay, that the Buſineſs of their own Employments is moſtly executed by inferior Officers, for ſmall Rewards; and, conſequently, that their great Appointments are given to ſecure their Fidelity, and put them far above and out of the Reach of Bribery and Corruption: They ought not to have a Thought which is mean or little: Their Minds are not to be in the Duſt, whilſt their Heads are in the Clouds: They

ought

ought to infuſe and inſpire Virtue, Reſolution, and publick Spirit, into the inactive Maſs, and be illuſtrious Examples of every great and noble Quality.

But if they can ſink ſo low beneath themſelves; if they can ſo far deſcend from the Dignity of their Characters; if they can chooſe ſo to grovel upon the Earth, when they may aſcend to the Heavens; and be ſo poor and abject, as to combine and confederate with Pick-pockets and common Rogues; betray their moſt ſolemn Truſts, and employ all their Power and Credit to deſtroy that People, whom they have every Motive which Heaven and Earth can ſuggeſt to protect and defend: Then, I ſay, ſuch Wretches ought to be the Scorn and Deteſtation of every honeſt Man; and new Kinds of Vengeance, new Tortures, and new Engines of Miſery, ought to be invented, to make their Puniſhments as much exceed common Puniſhments, as their Crimes exceed thoſe of the worſt Sort of common Malefactors, and as their Rewards ſurpaſs thoſe of the beſt and worthieſt Citizens in other Stages of Life and Circumſtances of Fortune.

There is no Analogy between the Crimes of private Men and thoſe of publick Magiſtrates: The firſt terminate in the Death or Sufferings of ſingle Perſons; the others ruin Millions, ſubvert the Policy and Œconomy of Nations, and create general Want, and its Conſequences, Diſcontents, Inſurrections, and Civil Wars, at Home; and often make them a Prey to watchful Enemies Abroad. But amongſt the Crimes which regard a State, *Peculatus*, or robbing the Publick, is the greateſt; becauſe upon the careful and frugal Adminiſtration

of

of the publick Treaſure the very Being of the Commonwealth depends. It is what my Lord *Coke* calls it, *Tutela pacis, & firmamentum belli*; and the embezzling of it is Death by the Civil Law, and ought to be ſo by all Laws. It is the worſt Sort of Treaſon, as it draws all other Sorts of Treaſon after it: It diſconcerts all the Meaſures of Government, and lays the Ground-work of Seditions, Rebellions, and all kind of publick Miſeries.

But theſe, as well as all other Crimes which affect the Publick, receive their Aggravation from the Greatneſs of the Perſons who commit them; not only as their Rewards are larger, and their Temptations leſs, but as their Example recommends, and, as it were, authorizes and gives a Licenſe to Wickedneſs. No one dares to puniſh another for an Offence which he knows, and the other knows, that he every Day commits himſelf. One Great Man, who gets an Hundred Thouſand Pounds by cheating the Publick, muſt wink and connive at Ten others who ſhall wrong it of Ten Thouſand Pounds each; and they at Ten times as many more, who ſhall defraud it of One Thouſand; and ſo on in leſſer Progreſſion, till the greateſt Part of the publick Revenue is ſwallowed and devoured by great and little Plunderers.

It is therefore of the utmoſt Importance to the Security and Happineſs of any State, to puniſh, in the moſt exemplary Manner, all thoſe who are intruſted by it, and betray that Truſt: It becomes the Wiſdom of a Nation, to give Ten Thouſand Pounds to purchaſe a Head, which cheats it of Six-pence. *Valerius Maximus* calls *Severity*

verily the ſure Preſerver and Avenger of Liberty: It is as neceſſary for the preventing of Tyranny, as for the Support of it. After the Death of the Sons of *Brutus*, executed by the Command of their own Father, and in his Preſence, we hear no more of any Conſpirators in *Rome* to reſtore the *Tarquins*; and had *Marius*, *Cæſar*, and other Corrupters of the People, met with the ſame Puniſhment, that glorious Commonwealth might have ſubſiſted to this Day. Lenity to great Crimes is an Invitation to greater; whereas Deſpair of Pardon, for the moſt part, makes Pardon uſeleſs. If no Mercy were ſhewn to the Enemies of the State, no State would be overturned; and if ſmall or no Puniſhment be inflicted upon them, no State can be ſafe.

Happy, happy had it been for this unhappy People, if theſe important and eſſential Maxims of Government had been duly regarded by our Legiſlators at the *Revolution*; (and I wiſh too, that the ſincere and hearty Endeavours of our preſent Legiſlators to puniſh the Betrayers of the late unfortunate Queen had met the deſired Succeſs:) For I doubt that all our Misfortunes have flowed from theſe Sources, and are owing to theſe Diſappointments.

All *Europe* ſaw, and all good Men in it lamented to ſee, a mighty Nation brought to the Brink of Deſtruction by weak and contemptible Inſtruments; its Laws ſuperſeded, its Courts of Juſtice corrupted, its Legiſlature laid aſide, its Liberties ſubverted, its Religion overturned, and a new one almoſt introduced, and a violent and deſpotick Government aſſumed, which was ſupported by Legions and an armed Force: They ſaw this brave

brave People riſe under the Oppreſſion, and, like *Antæus*, gather Strength by their late Fall: They called for the Aſſiſtance of the next Heir to the Crown, to avenge himſelf and them; and when they had, by his Aſſiſtance, removed the Uſurpation, they rewarded him with the immediate Poſſeſſion of the Crown. But when they had all the deſired Succeſs, and ſubdued all that they had fought with; they ſoon found, that, by the Treachery and Corruption of their Leaders, they had loſt all that they had fought for.

Inſtead of compleating their Deliverance, and puniſhing the Authors of their Calamities, and ſacrificing them to the Manes of their once loſt Liberties; upon the moſt diligent Search, there was not a guilty Perſon to be found; not One who had contributed to their Misfortunes. Three Kingdoms had been undone by Male-Adminiſtration, and no body had a Hand in it. This Tergiverſation gave freſh Heart and Courage to the deſpairing Faction: Some imputed it to Weakneſs and Fear; others to a Conſciouſneſs of Guilt for what we had done; and all cried out aloud, that if there were no Criminals, there could be no Crimes: whilſt all honeſt Men ſtood amazed and covered with Shame and Confuſion at theſe Proceedings.

All the while our new Betrayers rioted in their Sun-ſhine, laughed at the unſeaſonable Simplicity and Folly of a few Whimſicals, who did not know what a Revolution was good for: They would not make a Rod for themſelves: On the contrary, numberleſs were their Projects and Stratagems to amaſs Riches, and increaſe their Power. They encouraged and protected a general Prodi-

gality

gality and Corruption, and ſo brought the Kingdom into the greateſt Neceſſities; then took Advantage of thoſe Neceſſities: They got publick Money into their Hands, and then lent that Money to the Publick again for great Premiums, and at great Intereſt, and afterwards ſquandered it away to make Room for new Projects: They made Bargains for themſelves, by borrowing in one Capacity what they lent in another; and, by a Uſe of their prior Intelligence, and Knowledge of their own Intentions, they wholly governed the National Credit, and raiſed and depreſſed it at their Pleaſure, and as they ſaw their Advantage; by which means they beggared the People, and mortgaged all the Lands and the Stock of the Kingdom, though not (like the righteous *Joſeph*) to their Maſter, but to themſelves.

Thus the *Revolution* and the Principles of Liberty ran backwards again. The baniſhed *Tarquin* conceived new Hopes, and made new Attempts for a Reſtoration: All who had ſhared in the Benefits of the former wicked Adminiſtration; all thoſe who had ever been the avowed Enemies to an equal Government, and impartial Liberty; all the grim Inquiſitors, who had aſſumed an uncontroulable Sovereignty over the free and ungovernable Mind, Men who have ever pretended a divine Right to Roguery, united in his Intereſt; With theſe joined the Riotous, the Debauched, the Neceſſitous, the poor deluded Bigots, as well as all ſuch who had not received Rewards equal to their fancied Merit, and could not bear to ſee others revel in Advantages, which their own Ambition and Covetouſneſs had before ſwallowed for themſelves.

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This formidable Party combined againſt the new eſtabliſhed Government, made Earnings of the Miſcarriages and Corruptions of thoſe Miſcreants, who, by their vile and mercenary Conduct, betrayed the beſt Prince and beſt Cauſe in the World, and ſeveral times had almoſt overturned the new reſtored Liberty; but that the Gratitude and perſonal Love of the People to that great Prince, and the freſh and lively Remembrance of the Evils which they had ſuffered, or had been like to have ſuffered, from the abdicated Family, ſtill preſerved him upon the Throne, in ſpite of all Attempts to the contrary. However, proper Advantages were not taken, neither in this nor the following Reign, from the many Defeats of this reſtleſs Faction, to ſettle the *Revolution* upon ſuch a Baſis, as not to be ſhaken but together with the Foundations of the Earth. There was always a Lion in the Way; the Figure or the Number of the Conſpirators, or the Difficulty of Diſcovery, or their Intereſt, Alliance, or Confederacy with Men in Power, were the Reaſons whiſpered; but the true one was concealed, namely, that one guilty Perſon durſt not heartily proſecute another: The Criminals had Stories to tell, Secrets not to be divulged; for an innocent and virtuous Man alone dares undertake to bring a great Villain to deſerved Puniſhment: None but a *Brutus* could have deſtroyed *Brutus*'s Sons.

Nothing was ever done to rectify or regulate the Education of Youth, the Source of all our other Evils; but Schools of Literature were ſuffered to continue under the Direction of the Enemies to all ſound Literature and publick Virtue: Liberty, being deſerted by her old Friends, fell

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of courſe into the Hands of her Enemies; and ſo Liberty was turned upon Liberty: By theſe Means the Diſcontents were fomented, the Evils ſtill increaſed, and the Conſpirators ſtill went on. They had now got new Tools to work with, juſt forged, and ſent glowing hot from the Univerſities: A new Generation aroſe and appeared upon the publick Stage, who had never ſeen or felt the Misfortunes which their Fathers groaned under, nor believed more of them than what they had learned from their Tutors: So that all Things ſeemed prepared for a new Revolution; when we were ſurprized by a Voice from Heaven, which promiſed us another Deliverance.

We have at laſt, by the bounteous Gift of indulgent Providence, a moſt excellent King, and a wiſe and uncorrupt Parliament; and yet — But what ſhall I ſay, or what ſhall be left unſaid? — I will go on. — We have a Prince, I ſay, who is poſſeſſed of every Virtue which can grace and adorn a Crown; a Parliament too, than whom *England* has never choſen one better diſpoſed to do all thoſe Things which every honeſt Man in it wiſhed, and called for; and yet — by the Iniquity of the Times, or the Iniquities of particular Men, we are ſtill to expect our Deliverance; though I hope that we ſhall not expect it long.

Publick Corruptions and Abuſes have grown upon us: Fees in moſt, if not in all, Offices, are immenſely increaſed: Places and Employments, which ought not to be ſold at all, are ſold for treble Values: The Neceſſities of the Publick have made greater Impoſitions unavoidable, and yet the Publick has run very much in Debt; and as thoſe Debts have been encreaſing, and the People growing

ing poor, Salaries have been augmented, and Penſions multiplied; I mean in the laſt Reign, for I hope that there have been no ſuch Doings in this.

Our common Rogues now ſcorn little Pilferings, and in the Dark; 'tis all publick Robbery, and at Noon-day; nor is it, as formerly, for ſmall Sums, but for the Ranſom of Kings, and the Pay of Armies: Figures of Hundreds and Thouſands have loſt their Uſe in Arithmetick: (*) Plumbs alone are thought worth gathering; and they no longer ſignify Hundreds of Thouſands, but Millions: One Great Man, who is ſaid in a former Reign to have plundered a Million and a Half, has made his Succeſſors think as much to be their Due too: Poſſeſſion of great Sums is thought to give a Title to thoſe Sums; and the Wealth of Nations is meaſured out and divided amongſt private Men, not (as by the *Weſt-Indian* Pyrates) with Shovels, but by Waggons.

The Dregs of the People, and the Scum of the Alley, can buy *Italian* and *German* Sovereigns out of their Territories; and their Levees have been lately crowded with Swarms of dependent Princes, like *Roman* Conſuls, and *Eaſtern* Monarchs; and I am told, that ſome of them have been ſeen aſcending to, and deſcending from, their Chariots, while they leaned upon the Necks of proſtrate Grandees. Oh Liberty! ſtop thy Flight. Oh Virtue! be ſomething more than a Name and empty Sound: Return, Oh return! inſpire and aſſiſt our illuſtrious Legiſlators in the great Work which they have ſo generouſly undertaken! Aſſiſt, aſſiſt, if it be but to ſave thoſe who have always

(*) A Cant Word, known to mean an Hundred Thouſand Pounds.

devoutly

devoutly worſhipped thee, and have paid conſtant Incenſe at thy Altars.

But what ſhall be done? Where is the Remedy for all theſe Evils? We hope for it, we expect it, we ſee it; and we call for it, from the healing Hands of our moſt gracious King, and his dutiful Parliament. There is a Criſis in the Health of Governments, as well as of private Perſons. When Diſtempers are at the worſt, they muſt mend, or the Patient die: And when the Caſe is deſperate, bold and reſolute Methods muſt be taken, or he will be ſuffered to die, for fear of his dying. —— What then is the Remedy? —— We muſt begin with letting out ſome of our adulterate and corrupt Blood, one Drop of which is enough to contaminate the Ocean: We muſt firſt take full Vengeance of all thoſe whom we can diſcover to be guilty, and uſe them as Citizens do Shoplifters; that is, make thoſe who are caught pay for all that is ſtolen. Let us not, Oh let us not ſuffer the Sins of all *Iſrael* to be at this Time of Day laid upon the Head of the Scape-Goat!

When we have taken this firſt and neceſſary Step, to prevent an Apoplexy or malignant Eruptions, let us preſcribe ſtrong Emeticks, proper Sudorificks, and effectual Purgatives, to bring up or throw off the noxious Juices and morbifick Matter that oppreſſes us, and ſo wholly to eradicate the Cauſes of our Diſtemper. But, above all, let us avoid the beginning with Lenitives and palliating Medicines, which will only cover and foment our Evils, make them break out more violently, at laſt perhaps turn into dangerous Swellings and epidemical Plague-Sores; and by ſuch Means ſpread a general Infection: Let us not ſuffer any

of

of our great or little Rogues to eſcape publick Vengeance.

When we have, by theſe vigorous Methods, removed the peccant Humours which are the Springs and Sources of our Diſtemper, let us uſe proper Applications, gentle Remedies, and wholeſome Diet, to correct and rectify the Maſs of remaining Blood, to invigorate and renew our Conſtitution, reſtore it to its firſt Principles, and make it ſound and active again: Let us ſee where it abounds, and where it wants; whether the ſanguine, the phlegmatick, or the bilious predominates, and reduce them all to a proper Balance: Let us look back and examine ſtrictly, by what Neglect, by what Steps and Gradations of Intemperance or Folly, we are brought into the preſent Condition, and reſolve to avoid them for the future.

Let us try no more Projects, no more knaviſh Experiments; let us have no more Quacking, no more to do with Empericks. Let us act openly and above-board for the publick Intereſt, and not hang out falſe Colours, to catch unwary Preys. Let us plainly tell at firſt what we mean, and all that we mean: If it be honeſt and advantageous, every good Man will defend it, and aſſiſt in it; if otherwiſe, it ought not to be defended at all.

This is the Way, and the only Way, to preſerve and continue the ineſtimable Bleſſing of our preſent Eſtabliſhment: Let the People ſee the Benefit of the Change, and there is no Fear that they will be againſt their own Intereſt; but State-Quacks may harangue and ſwear till they are black in the Face, before they will perſuade any one to believe that he is in perfect Health, who feels

feels himſelf ſick at Heart. Men in ſuch Circumſtances are always reſtleſs, always tumbling about from Side to Side, changing every Poſture for preſent Eaſe; and ſo often bring Death upon themſelves, by trying prepoſterous Remedies to avoid it.

T *I am*, &c.

SATURDAY, *March* 18, 1720. No. 21.

A Letter from John Ketch, *Eſq; aſſerting his Right to the Necks of the over-grown Brokers.*

SIR,

IN a general Call for Juſtice from an injured Nation, I beg Leave to put in my Voice, being myſelf an eminent Sufferer in the ill Fate of my Country, which no otherwiſe gains than as I do, by the Exaltation of Rogues. Our Intereſts, in this Reſpect, are the ſame. And as it would be very hard that the Blood-ſuckers of the People ſhould not make the People ſome Amends, by reſtoring the Blood that they have ſucked; ſo it would be as hard that I, who am the Finiſher of Juſtice, ſhould not have Juſtice done me.

From my beſt Obſervation upon publick Affairs, laſt Summer, I promiſed myſelf that I ſhould certainly have full Hands this laſt Winter; I therefore applied myſelf with ſingular Diligence to gain the utmoſt Perfection and Skill in the Calling wherein God and the Law hath placed me: For, I did not think it at all laudable, or

or agreeable to a good Conſcience, to accept a Poſt, without proper Talents and Experience to execute the ſame, however cuſtomary and common ſuch a Practice might be: And therefore, without preſuming to follow the illuſtrious Example of my Betters, in this Matter, I thought it became me to become my Poſt. In Truth, Sir, if this Maxim had prevailed, where it ſhould have prevailed; and if my Brethren in Place had as well underſtood, and as honeſtly executed, their ſeveral Truſts, as I do mine, we ſhould have had a very different Face of Things, nor would I have had Occaſion for Journeymen.

Thus, Sir, I was firmly and honeſtly reſolved, that the Execution of Juſtice ſhould not ſtick with me, where-ever elſe it ſtuck. Moreover, at a Time when every Thing, but Honeſty, bore a double Price, I bought up a great Quantity of Silken Halters, for the ſole Uſe and Benefit of any of our topping Pick-pockets, who ſhould be found to have noble or genteel Blood about them. *N. B.* This Compliment was not intended for the Directors, who muſt expect to wear the ſame valedictory Cravat which is worn by ſmall Felons, who come under my Hands every Seſſion: But I have ſet apart a good round Quantity of theſe delicate Silken Turnovers for the Benefit and Decoration of divers worthy Gentlemen, whom I have marked out for my Cuſtomers in the ——; whom it would not be good Breeding in me, as yet, to name; but I hope they will prove rare Chaps.

I did likewiſe beſpeak, at leaſt, a Dozen curious Axes, ſpick and ſpan new, with rare Steel Edges; the fitteſt that could be made, for dividing nobly betwixt the Head and the Shoulders of any dignified

and illuſtrious Cuſtomer of mine, who has, either by Birth or by Place, a Right to die at the Eaſt End of the Town.

Now, Sir, it unluckily happens, that I cannot pay for any of the Implements of National Juſtice, and of my Trade, till I have uſed them: And my Creditors, though they own me to be an honeſt Man, yet, wanting Faith in all publick Officers, begin to fear that I ſhall never pay for them at all. It is, in Truth, a ſenſible Diſcouragement to them and me, that I have ſo little to do this Winter, when there appeared ſo much to be done in my Way. Sure never poor deſerving Hangman had ſuch a ſhameful Vacation!

As having a Poſt, I have conſequently the Honour of being a true Member of the Church of *England*, as by Law eſtabliſhed; and therefore under theſe Diſappointments I comfort myſelf with ſome Patience, and more Beer. I have, beſides that, this further Conſolation, that if our Canary Birds find Wings to eſcape me, neither the Blame nor the Shame ſhall lie at my Door.

You ſee, Sir, I have Merit; and yet you ſee I labour under Diſcouragements enough to ſcare any Succeſſor of mine from accepting this neglected and pennileſs Poſt, till he has a ſufficient Sum of Money in Hand paid, and a good Penſion for Life, as is uſual upon leſs Occaſions, together with ample Proviſion for his Children after him.

But, in ſpite of all theſe Diſcouragements, I am determined to live in Hopes of ſome topping Cuſtomers before the Seſſion is ended: The Publick and I muſt certainly get at laſt: God knows we have been eminent Sufferers; we have been defrauded on every Side.

Being

Being bred a Butcher, I can comfort my ſaid Cuſtomers with an Aſſurance, that I have a delicate and ready Hand at cutting and tying; ſo let them take Heart, the Pain is nothing, and will be ſoon over; I am only ſorry 'tis ſo long a coming: No man can be pleaſed with being defrauded of his juſt Dues.

I have one Conſolation, Sir, which never leaves me; namely, that though my Poſt has not been ſo profitable a one as for ſome time paſt it ſhould have been, yet it has been a ſafe one. I doubt not but many of my Brethren in Place would be glad if they could ſay as much. I am moreover of Opinion, that my Poſt has for a Year paſt been one of the moſt honeſt and creditable Poſts in *England*; nor would I change Circumſtances or Character with ſome that hold their Heads very high, and may hold them higher ſtill before I have done with them. I am ſure it cannot be denied, that the Hangman of *London* has for the above Space of Time been a reputable Officer, in Compariſon. —— The Truth is, that they have got more Money than I, but I have more Reputation than they; and I hope ſoon to go Snacks with ſome of them in their Money.

I know that Knaves of State require a great deal of Form and Ceremony before they are committed to my Care; ſo that I am not much ſurprized, that I have not yet laid my Hands upon certain exalted Criminals. I hope, however, that, when they come, a good Number will come at once. But there is a Parcel of notorious and ſorry Sinners, called *Brokers*; Fellows of ſo little Conſequence, that few of them have Reputation enough to ſtand Candidates for my Place, were the ſame

vacant, (which God forbid!) and yet Rogues ſo ſwoln with Guilt, that poor *Derwentwater* and *Kenmure* (my two laſt Cuſtomers) were Babes and Petty Larceners to them. Now theſe are the Hang-Rogues with whom I would be keeping my Hand in uſe.

Sir, I have been with Counſel about them, and my Lawyer ſtands amazed that I have not had them already: "But, *ſays he*, Mr. *Ketch*, I fore-"ſaw that the Brokers were only the Pimps of "great Rogues, who were themſelves the Pimps "of greater: So that were theſe Vermin to go "up to *Tyburn*, they would draw many more "after them, who would likewiſe draw others.— "So, depend upon it, the Lion, if he can, will "ſave the Jackall. And hence it proceeds, Mr. "*Ketch*, that though it be hard, yet it is not "ſtrange, that thoſe Rogues, whom all Men "wiſh in your Hands, are not yet there.

He then told me how the Brokers have violated that Act of Parliament, which allows them but Two Shillings and Six-pence for tranſacting a Hundred Pounds Stock, by taking, or rather exacting Twenty Shillings, and ſometimes Five Pounds. I hope, when I come to ſtrip them, or to commute for ſtripping them, that I ſhall be allowed to mete out to them the ſame Meaſure.

He told me likewiſe, that during the Reign of Roguery they ſold for no body but the Directors, and their Betters; whereas they were obliged in Duty to have ſold for all Men alike, who employed them. Their Office is an Office of Truſt, as well as that of the Directors. They act, or ought to act, under the Reſtrictions of an Act of Parliament, under the ſacred Obligation of an Oath,

and

and under the Ties and Penalties of a Bond; by all which they are obliged to diſcharge their Duty impartially betwixt Man and Man, and for one Man as ſoon as another. Now it is well known, that they broke their Truſt to the Publick; that they ceaſed to be common and indifferent Officers in the Alley; and yet retaining the Name and Pretence of their Office, (by which they alſo retained the Power of deceiving) they became only Spies and Lyars for the Directors and their Managers, and Sellers for them only. They were therefore Criminals of the firſt Claſs, and principal Agents in the publick Miſchief; for, had they not acted thus for one Side alone, the Directors could not have ſold out much at high Prices, nor would others have bought in at thoſe Prices: So that they are to be conſidered not only as the Inſtruments of greater Traytors, though in that Character they are liable to be hanged; but as wilful and deliberate Confederates with thoſe Traytors; and, conſequently, merit every Puniſhment which thoſe higher Traytors merit.

My Counſel ſaid too, that there were ſome Crimes of ſo high and malignant a Nature, that, in the Perpetration of them, all Acceſſaries were conſidered as Principals; that thoſe who held a Man till he was murthered, were Murtherers; that thoſe who voluntarily held a Candle to others, who robbed a Houſe, were themſelves Robbers; and that in committing of Treaſon, all are Traytors who have had a Hand in that Treaſon.

He ſaid, that the Brokers were free Agents, independent of all Companies, and no more attached, in Point of Duty, to the *South-Sea*, than

to any other; that being *ſui juris* (as he called it) they could not excuſe their wicked Dealings by the pretended Commands and Authority of any Superiors, as ſome of the *South-Sea* Officers might plead, for that the Directors were not their Superiors; that their Rogueries therefore were voluntary and deliberate Rogueries; and that having wilfully ſinned with the Directors, they ought in Juſtice to ſuffer with the Directors, and hang with them.

He told me, that having Share of the Gain of Villainy with the Directors, they ought to have their Share of the Halter too. They tranſacted great Sums for themſelves; though the Law, which eſtabliſhed them, enacts, That they ſhall neither Buy nor Sell for themſelves; which is highly reaſonable; for how can any Man tranſact honeſtly for another, whilſt he is ſelling to him his own Stock?

He ſaid, that they deceived every Man into his own Ruin; and ruined the Nation, to enrich the Directors and themſelves: They ſold their own Stock, and that of the Directors, under falſe and fictitious Names, contrary to the Obligation of their Bond to the City, which obliges them to declare the Name of the Seller to the Buyer, as well as the Name of the Buyer to the Seller; for they knew that no Man would have been willing to buy, had he known that the Brokers and Directors were in haſte to ſell. Thus they uſed falſe Dice, and blinded Mens Eyes, to pick their Pockets. "And ſurely, Mr. *Ketch*, *ſays the Counſellor*, "if he who picks a Man's Pocket is to be hanged, "the Rogues that pick the Pockets of the whole "Country, ought to be hanged, drawn, and "quartered.

But

But what was moſt remarkable of all in what the Counſellor told me, and what indeed gives me moſt Heart, is, that unleſs the Brokers are hanged, it will be ſcarce poſſible that any body elſe ſhould be hanged. If this be true, their Doom is certain, and I ſhall be able to ſupport my Squireſhip before *Eaſter*: For, ſurely, we ſhall never ſave mighty Knaves, for the Sake of ſaving little ones; and if ſo be it is determined to gratify the Nation with a competent Store of Hanging and Beheading, certainly we muſt do every thing neceſſary thereunto.

"Now, *ſays my Counſel*, if the Brokers do not "diſcover the Secrets which they beſt know, but "which they will never diſcover, if they can "ſave their Necks and Purſes without doing it; "then, I doubt me, Juſtice will be impotent for "want of Evidence. But if they find that they "can ſave nothing by their Silence, they will tell "all to ſave ſomething. They are hardened "Rogues; and, by falſe Oaths, and under-hand "Dealing, will ſkreen all that are as bad as themſelves; but gripe them well, and ten to one but "you ſqueeze the Truth out of them.

"For all which Reaſons, Mr. *Kitch*, *continued* "*he*, I hope ſoon to give you Joy of the Brokers, "as well as of better Cuſtomers." — And ſo he diſmiſſed me, without taking a Fee; for he told me, that he conſidered me as an eminent Sufferer, by having as yet got nothing, where he wiſhed that I had, before this Time, got a great deal.

This, Sir, is the Subſtance of what paſſed between us; for which I am ſo much obliged to him, that if ever he falls in my Way, I'll uſe him with the like Generoſity; and I will owe you,

Mr. *Journaliſt*, the ſame Favour, if you will be ſo kind to publiſh this.

If you knew me, Sir, you would own that I have valuable Talents, and am worth your Acquaintance. I am particularly poſſeſſed of a praiſeworthy Induſtry, and an ardent Deſire of Buſineſs. — In Truth, I care not to be idle; and yet it cruelly happens, that I have but one buſy Day in ſix Weeks, and even then I could do twice as much. Beſides, having a tender Heart, it really affects me with Pity, to be obliged to ſtrangle ſo many Innocents every Seſſions; poor harmleſs Offenders, that only commit Murthers, and break open Houſes, and rob Men of Guineas and Half-Crowns; while wholeſale Plunderers, and mighty Rogues of Prey, the avowed Enemies and Hangmen of Honeſty, Trade, and Truth, the known Promoters of Villainy, and the mercileſs Authors of Miſery, Want, and general Ruin, go on to ride in Coaches and Six, and to defy a People whom they have made poor and deſperate; potent Parricides, who have plundered more from this Kingdom in Six Months, than all the private Thieves and Highwaymen ever did, or could do, ſince the Creation.

Sir, I repeat it, that the hanging of ſuch poor Felons only, as Things now ſtand, is, comparatively, ſhedding innocent Blood: And ſo, for the Eaſe of my Mind, I beg that I may have thoſe ſent me, whom I may truſs up with a ſafe Conſcience. My Teeth particularly water, and my Bowels yearn, at the Name of the Brokers; for God's Sake, let me have the Brokers.

Upon the Whole, Sir, I have Reaſon to hope, from the preſent Spirit raiſed in the Nation, (and, they

they ſay, it is in a great Meaſure owing to you, that there is ſuch a Spirit raiſed:) I ſay, I hope ſoon to have the fingering of the Throats of theſe Traytors, who have fingered all the Money in the Nation. Their own Guilt, and the inceſſant Cry of the People, will weigh them down, in ſpite of all Arts and Screens.

N. B. I have a nice Hand at touching a Neck of Quality; and when any Cuſtomers come, I ſhall be ready to give you Joy of it, as well as to receive the like from you. Who am,

G. *SIR,*

Your Loving Friend,

JOHN KETCH.

SATURDAY, *March* 25, 1721. No. 22.

The Judgment of the People generally ſound, where not miſled. With the Importance and Probability of bringing over Mr. Knight.

SIR,

FROM the preſent Spirit of this Nation, it is ſtill further evident to me, what I have always thought, that the People would conſtantly be in the Intereſts of Truth and Liberty, were it not for external Deluſion and external Force. Take away Terror, and Men never would have been Slaves: Take away Impoſture, and Men will never be Dupes nor Bigots. The People, when they are in the Wrong, are generally in the Wrong through Miſtake; and when they come to know it, are apt frankly to correct their own

Faults. Of which Candour in them *Machiavel* has given ſeveral Inſtances, and many more might be given.

But it is not ſo with Great Men, and the Leaders of Parties; who are, for the moſt part, in the Wrong through Ambition, and continue in the Wrong through Malice. Their Intention is wicked, and their End criminal; and they commonly aggravate great Crimes by greater. As great Dunces as the Governors of Mankind often are, (and God knows that they are often great enough) they are never Traytors out of mere Stupidity.

Machiavel ſays, *That no wiſe Man needs decline the Judgment of the People in the Diſtribution of Offices and Honours, and ſuch particular Affairs,* (in which I ſuppoſe he includes Puniſhment) *for in thoſe Things they are almoſt infallible.*

I could give many Inſtances where the People of *England* have judged and do judge right; as they generally would, were they not miſled. They are, particularly, unanimous in their Opinion, that we ought by no means to part with *Gibraltar*; and this their Opinion is grounded upon the ſame Reaſons that ſway the wiſeſt Men in this Matter.

They likewiſe know, that an *Engliſh* War with *Muſcovy* would be downright Madneſs; for that, whatever Advantage the ſame might be to other Countries, it would grievouſly hurt the Trade and Navy of *England*, without hurting the Czar.

They know too, that a Squabble between *Spain* and the Emperor about *Italy*, could not much affect *England*; and that therefore, were we to go to War with either, upon that Account, as

Things

Things now ſtand, it could not be for the Sake of *England*.

They know, that our Men of War might be always as honeſtly employed in defending our Trade, by which our Country ſubſiſts, from the Depredations of Pyrates, as in conquering Kingdoms for thoſe to whom the Nation is nothing obliged, or in defending Provinces with which the Nation has nothing to do, and from which it reaps no Advantages.

They know, that it is of great Concernment to any People, that the Heir Apparent to their Crown be bred amongſt them; not only that he may be reconciled, by Habit, to their Cuſtoms and Laws, and grow in Love with their Liberties; but that, at his Acceſſion to the Throne, he may not be engroſſed and beſet by Foreigners, who will be always in the Intereſt of another Country; and, conſequently, will be attempting to miſlead him into Meaſures miſchievous to his Kingdom, and advantageous to themſelves, or their own Nation.

The People know, that thoſe are the beſt Miniſters, who do the moſt Good to their Country, or rather the leaſt Miſchief: They can feel Miſery and Happineſs, as well as thoſe that govern them; and will always, in ſpite of all Arts, love thoſe that do them a ſenſible Good, and abhor, as they ought, thoſe that load them with Evils. Hence proceeds the Popularity, and the great and unenvied Characters, of our preſent Governors; who, beſides the memorable and proſperous Projects which they have brought to Maturity, for the Good of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, would likewiſe have obliged us with another Preſent,

that the bringing over Mr. *Knight* is a Duty which they owe to themselves, their own Characters being intimately concerned in it; otherwiſe —

People indeed begin to ſay, that the ſuppreſſing of Evidence ought to be taken for Evidence, as in the Caſe of Mr. *Fazkin*, who burned the Book which contained the Evidence. There is a noble Perſon too, ſaid to be mentioned in the Report of the Committee, not to his Advantage; but, I thank God, now fully vindicated by Patriots as incorrupt as himſelf, upon the fulleſt Proof of his Innocence; and if his Acquittal did not meet the univerſal Concurrence of all preſent, it could be owing only to Mr. *Knight's* not being at hand to ſpeak what he knew: Had he made his Appearance, there had never been a Diviſion upon the Queſtion, but all would have been then as unanimous in their Sentiments about that Great Man's Integrity and clean Hands, as all the reſt of the Kingdom at preſent are. However, Reputation is ſo nice a Thing, that it cannot be made too clear; and therefore we are ſure of the hearty Aſſiſtance of this illuſtrious Patriot to bring over Mr. *Knight*, if poſſible, to make his Vindication yet more complete.

It is alſo the Intereſt of another Great Perſon, equal to the firſt in Power and Innocence, and who, without doubt, has taken common Meaſures with him for the publick Good, and will equally ſhare in the grateful Applauſe of good Men, and the Reproach of bad; for no Degrees of Virtue will put any one beyond the Reach of Envy and Calumny, and therefore we cannot be ſure that his ſtrenuous and bareface Protection of innocent and oppreſſed Virtue will not be miſ-

inter-

chiefly, will think themſelves always ſafe, ſo long as they can keep him Abroad; and while he continues Abroad, the Nation's Vengeance can never be half complete.

As to my own particular, I am ſo ſanguine in this Affair, that the very Reaſons commonly given why he will not be brought over, are to me very good Reaſons why he will be brought over: I cannot but wonder to hear any Doubts about it. I am ſure, that thoſe who ſuggeſt ſuch Doubts, muſt ſuggeſt with the ſame Breath very terrible Crimes againſt ſome very conſiderable Men.

The Buſineſs of bringing over Mr. *Knight* is become the Buſineſs of the Miniſtry, and incumbent on them only. It is become their Duty to their Maſter King *GEORGE*, as they would preſerve entirely to him the Affections of a willing and contented People, by ſhewing them, that, in Conſideration of their mighty Wrongs (which the ſaid Miniſtry did all in their Power to prevent) they ſhall have all fair Play for Juſtice and Reſtitution. And it is in this reſpect too become the Duty of the Miniſtry to the People, whoſe Humours it is their Buſineſs to watch, whoſe Intereſt it is their Buſineſs to ſtudy, as much as the Intereſt of the King himſelf; and it muſt be owned, to the Praiſe of the preſent Set, that they have conſtantly conſulted and purſued the one as much as the other, with equal Skill and Honeſty; and ſo far King and People are equally obliged to them.

As to the perſonal Intereſts of the Miniſters themſelves, I ſay nothing, the ſame being ſuppoſed always firmly linked with the other two; as doubtleſs it is at preſent. Let me only add here,

that

to believe, were he here, that he would honeſtly betray thoſe Men to the Publick, for whom he wickedly betrayed the Publick.

Thus then, in all likelihood, neither the Emperor nor Mr. *Knight* are to be blamed, if Mr. *Knight* does not return. But, whether he be willing or no, the Emperor has no Right, no Pretence to keep him. Who will then be to blame, if the univerſal Cry of Juſtice, and of the Nation, ſhould not have its Effect? The Queſtion is eaſy, were the Anſwer prudent to give. In Truth, there needs no Anſwer; all Mankind will know how to ſolve this Difficulty.

An honourable Meſſenger has been gone near Six Weeks, and yet the Commons have Occaſion to addreſs his Majeſty to know what Anſwer he has ſent. Wonderful, in a Caſe that is of ſo much Importance, and which requires ſo much Expedition, and ſo little Ceremony! I have ſometimes thought a Courier muſt needs have been diſpatched to *England* about it long ſince, but that he was way-laid, and murdered by our Conſpirators and their Agents upon the Road. This may ſeem a ſtrange Fancy; but, without being very aged, I have lived long enough to think nothing ſtrange. —— I have not been once amazed theſe Six Months!

In the mean time, the Buſineſs of the Committee, which is the Buſineſs of *Great Britain*, is like to ſtand ſtill. Thoſe Gentlemen have done their Duty; and if their Evidence be not complete, (which however they deny) the Fault is not chargeable on them; but they are anſwerable who keep them from better. This is a Reproach not like to be wiped off, but by bringing over Mr. *Knight*;

and

tion, and commands the Attention, of every *Engliſhman.*

We could draw up a long, a very long Liſt of good Deeds done, and expenſive Favours ſhewn, to the Emperor; without being afraid of being put out of Countenance by any *German* Catalogue of Returns made us from *Vienna.* Perhaps there may have been ſome Courteſies procured from thence by *England*; but we would ask, Whether they were intended or procured for *England?* It ſeems to me, that this is the firſt Time of asking for ourſelves: And ſhall we, this firſt Time, be denied? Will ſuch an humble Mite be refuſed for Millions frankly beſtowed, and beſtowed beyond all Conjecture and Expectation? It cannot be; nor, if it could, ought it to be borne. We know how to ſhew, that we have Senſe as well as Power, and Reſentment as well as Liberality.

The Emperor therefore cannot be ſuſpected in this Matter; I dare ſay that he will comply with our Demands, as ſoon as they are made, whatever they be. He will not put ſuch Contempt upon us, who have purchaſed more Reſpect at his Hands. Beſides, it is confidently aſſerted, that Mr. *Knight* longs to be at Home; which I am apt to believe: He knows, that the kind Counſel given him, to go away, was not given him for his own Sake; and has Reaſon to fear, that thoſe who ſent him away, will keep him away. There is *Laudanum* in *Flanders*, as well as in *England*; and That or a Poignard may thwart his beſt Inclinations to return. If that ſhould happen, we are at Liberty to think the worſt; and, I doubt, we cannot think too bad. Unhappy Man! he was not a Knave for himſelf alone; and I am apt

to

He was the Author of that glorious Letter, which I now ſend you in *Engliſh*. It was written by the greateſt Man upon the nobleſt Subject; *BRUTUS* upon LIBERTY. It was ſent to *Cicero*, and the Occaſion this, as I find it very well explained by Monſieur *Soreau*, and prefixed to his *French* Tranſlation of *Brutus*'s Letters.

Octavius Cæſar, afterwards called *Auguſtus*, having defeated *Mark Anthony* before *Modena*, and by that Means raiſed the Siege of that Place, began now to conceive higher Deſigns than he had yet ſhewn: He had hitherto declared for the Commonwealth, and ſeemed to act for it; the Senate having truſted him with an Army, by the Perſuaſion and Intereſt of *Cicero*. But after this Victory over *Anthony*, he began to ſet up for himſelf, and to meditate the Revenge of his Uncle, and Father by Adoption, *Julius Cæſar*; and, finally, to pave himſelf a Way for abſolute Monarchy. He knew well, that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* would never, while they lived, ſuffer him to poſſeſs what they would not ſuffer the firſt *Cæſar* to enjoy; and therefore, to ſucceed his Uncle, he muſt deſtroy them.

But *Cicero*, who equally loved and admired *Brutus*, and pretended to great Power over the Mind of the young *Cæſar*, undertook to write to him in Favour of the Patrons of Liberty, who ſlew his Uncle, to ſeek their Pardon; eſpecially a Pardon for *Brutus*, that he might return to *Rome*, and be there in Safety. This Letter of *Cicero*'s contained in it alſo Thanks to *Octavius* for his Services to the Republick, and was entirely unknown to *Brutus*; but being informed of it by *Atticus*, he took extreme Offence at this Step of *Cicero*'s, which

which ſeemed to him a Confeſſion of Sovereignty in *Octavius*, by not only owning him Maſter of the Lives of the *Romans* in general, but of his too, who was the Deliverer of the *Romans*, and ſcorned to owe Life to *Octavius*.

Brutus had another Spirit, and other Views: He remembered the bold and free Words of the Great *Cato*, his Uncle, to thoſe of his Friends who offered to procure for him the Mercy of *Cæſar*, by throwing themſelves, on his Behalf, at *Cæſar*'s Feet.—*No*, ſays *Cato*, *I ſcorn to be beholden to Tyranny. I am as free as* Cæſar; *and ſhall I owe my Life to him, who has no Right even to my Submiſſion!*

Brutus found Reaſon to reſent, that *Cicero* ſhould, without his Knowledge, thus treat him as a Criminal, and *Cæſar* as a Sovereign, by begging of *Cæſar* Mercy for *Brutus*. That Reſentment gave Occaſion to this Letter; in which he treats *Octavius* as a raw Lad, and *Cicero* as a weak and fearful Man. The Reaſoning through the Whole ſhews *Brutus* to have been animated by a moſt ſublime and glorious Spirit of Virtue and Liberty; and is ſo ſtupendouſly ſtrong, that his Eloquence muſt have been great as his Soul; and yet that great Soul was not ſo dear to him as his Liberty.

I am, &c.

BRUTUS to *CICERO*.

"I Have ſeen, by the Favour of *Atticus*, that "Part which concerns me in your Letter to "*Octavius*. The Affection which you there ex- "preſs for my Perſon, and the Pains which you

"take

" take for my Safety, are great; but they give
" me no new Joy: Your kind Offices are be-
" come as habitual for me to receive, as for you
" to beſtow; and, by your daily Diſcourſe and
" Actions on my Behalf, I have daily Inſtances
" of your generous Regard for myſelf and my
" Reputation.

" However, all this hinders not but that the
" above-mentioned Article of your Letters to
" *Octavius* pierced me with as ſenſible a Grief
" as my Soul is capable of feeling. In thanking
" him for his Services to the Republick, you have
" choſen a Style which ſhews ſuch Lowneſs and
" Submiſſion, as do but too clearly declare, that
" you have ſtill a Maſter; and that the old Ty-
" ranny, which we thought deſtroyed, is revived
" in a new Tyrant. What ſhall I ſay to you
" upon this ſad Head? I am covered with Con-
" fuſion for your ſhameful Condition, but you
" have brought it upon yourſelf; and I cannot
" help ſhewing you to yourſelf in this wretched
" Circumſtance.

" You have petitioned *Octavius* to have Mercy
" upon me, and to ſave my Life. — In this you
" intend my Good, but ſought my Miſery, and
" a Lot worſe than Death, by ſaving me from
" it; ſince there is no Kind of Death but is
" more eligible to me than a Life ſo ſaved. Be
" ſo good to recollect a little the Terms of your
" Letter; and having weighed them as you
" ought, can you deny that they are conceived
" in the low Style of an humble Petition from a
" Slave to his haughty Lord, from a Subject to
" a King? You tell *Octavius*, that you have a
" Requeſt to make him, and hope that he will

" pleaſe

" pleaſe to grant it; namely, to ſave thoſe Citi-
" zens who are eſteemed by Men of Condition,
" and beloved by the People of *Rome*. This is
" your honourable Requeſt; but what if he ſhould
" not grant it, but refuſe to ſave us? Can we
" be ſaved by no other Expedient? Certainly, De-
" ſtruction itſelf is preferable to Life by his Fa-
" vour!

" I am not, however, ſo deſponding, as to
" imagine that Heaven is ſo offended with the
" *Roman* People, or ſo bent upon their Ruin, that
" you ſhould thus chooſe, in your Prayers, to ap-
" ply rather to *Octavius*, than to the immortal
" Gods, for the Preſervation, I do not ſay of the
" Deliverers of the whole Earth, but even for the
" Preſervation of the meaneſt *Roman* Citizen. This
" is a high Tone to talk in, but I have Pleaſure
" in it: It becomes me to ſhew, that I ſcorn to
" pray to thoſe whom I ſcorn to fear.

" Has then *Octavius* Power to ſave us, or de-
" ſtroy us? And while you thus own him to
" be a Tyrant, can you yet own yourſelf his
" Friend? And while you are mine, can you
" deſire to ſee me in *Rome*, and at the Mercy of
" an Uſurper? And yet, that this would be my
" Caſe you avow, by imploring, from a giddy
" Boy, my Permiſſion to return. You have
" been rendering him a World of Thanks, and
" making him many Compliments; pray, how
" come they to be due to him, if he yet want to
" be petitioned for our Lives, and if our Liberty
" depend upon his Sufferance? Are we bound to
" think it a Condeſcenſion in *Octavius*, that he
" chooſes that theſe our Petitions ſhould rather
" be made to him than to *Anthony*? And are

" not

" not ſuch low Supplications the proper Addreſſes " to a Tyrant? And yet ſhall we, who boldly " deſtroyed one, be ever brought baſely to ſup- " plicate another? And can we, who are the " Deliverers of the Commonwealth, deſcend to " ask what no Man ought to have it in his Power " to give?

" Conſider the mournful Effects of that Dread " and Deſpondency of yours in our publick Strug- " gles; in which, however, you have too many " to keep you in Countenance. The Common- " wealth has been loſt, becauſe it was given for " loſt. Hence *Cæſar* was firſt inſpired with the " Luſt of Dominion; hence *Mark Anthony*, not " terrified by the Doom of the Tyrant, pants " and hurries on to ſucceed him in his Tyranny; " and hence this *Octavius*, this green Uſurper, is " ſtarted into ſuch a Pitch of Power, that the " Chiefs of the Commonwealth, and the Saviours " of their Country, muſt depend for their Breath " upon his Pleaſure. —— Yes, we muſt owe our " Lives to the Mercy of a Minor, ſoftened by " the Prayers of aged Senators!

" Alas, we are no longer *Romans!* If we " were, the virtuous Spirit of Liberty would have " been an eaſy Over-match for the traiterous At- " tempts of the worſt of all Men graſping after " Tyranny; nor would even *Mark Anthony*, the " raſh and enterprizing *Mark Anthony*, have been " ſo fond of *Cæſar's* Power, as frightened by *Cæ- " ſar's* Fate.

" Remember the important Character which " you ſuſtain, the great Poſt which you have fill- " ed: You are a Senator of *Rome*, you have been " Conſul of *Rome*; you have defeated Conſpira-

" cies,

" cies, you have deſtroyed Conſpirators. Is not " *Rome* ſtill as dear to you as ſhe was? Or, is " your Courage and Vigilance leſs? And is not " the Occaſion greater? Or, could you ſuppreſs " great Traytors, and yet tolerate greater? Re- " collect what you ought to do, by what you have " done. Whence proceeded your Enmity to *An-* " *thony?* Was it not, that he had an Enmity to " Liberty, had ſeized violently on the Publick, " aſſumed the Diſpoſal of Life and Death into his " own Hands, and ſet up for the ſole Sovereign " of all Men? Were not theſe the Reaſons of " your Enmity, and of your Advice, to combat " Violence by Violence; to kill him, rather than " ſubmit to him? All this was well. —— But " why muſt Reſiſtance be dropped, when there is " a freſh Call for Reſiſtance? Has your Courage " failed you? Or, was it not permitted to *Anthony* " to enſlave us, but another may? As if the Na- " ture of Servitude were changed, by changing " Names and Perſons. No, — we do not diſ- " pute about the Qualifications of a Maſter; we " will have no Maſter.

" It is certain, that we might, under *Anthony*, " have had large Shares with him in the Admi- " niſtration of deſpotick Power; we might have " divided its Dignities, ſhone in its Trappings. " He would have received us graciouſly, and met " us half way. He knew that either our Con- " currence or Acquieſcence would have confirmed " him Monarch of *Rome*; and at what Price " would he not have purchaſed either? But all " his Arts, all his Temptations, all his Offers, " were rejected; Liberty was our Purpoſe, Virtue " our Rule: Our Views were honeſt and univer-

" ſal; Our Country, and the Cauſe of Man-
" kind.

" With *Octavius* himſelf there is ſtill a Way
" open for an Accommodation, if we choſe it.
" As eager as the Name of *Cæſar* has made that
" raw Stickler for Empire to deſtroy thoſe who
" deſtroyed *Cæſar*; yet, doubtleſs, he would give
" us good Articles, to gain our Conſent to that
" Power to which he aſpires, and to which, I
" fear, he will arrive: Alas! what is there to
" hinder him? While we only attend to the
" Love of Life, and the Impulſes of Ambition;
" while we can purchaſe Poſts and Dignities with
" the Price of Liberty, and think Danger more
" dreadful than Slavery, what remains to ſave
" us?

" What was the End of our killing the Ty-
" rant, but to be free from Tyranny? —— A
" ridiculous Motive, and an empty Exploit, if
" our Slavery ſurvive him! —— Oh, who is it
" that makes Liberty his Care? Liberty, which
" ought to be the Care of all Men, as 'tis the
" Benefit and Bleſſing of all! For myſelf, ra-
" ther than give it up, I will ſtand ſingle in its
" Defence. I cannot loſe, but with my Life,
" my Reſolution to maintain in Freedom my
" Country, which I have ſet free: I have de-
" ſtroyed a veteran Tyrant; and ſhall I ſuffer,
" in a raw Youth, his Heir, a Power to controul
" the Senate, ſuperſede the Laws, and put Chains
" on *Rome*? A Power, which no perſonal Fa-
" vours, nor even the Ties of Blood, could ever
" ſanctify to me; a Power, which I could not
" bear in *Cæſar*; nor, if my Father had uſurped
" it, could I have borne in him.

" Your

" Your Petition to *Octavius* is a Confeſſion, " that we cannot enjoy the Liberty of *Rome* with- " out his Leave; and can you dream that other " Citizens are free, where we could not live free? " Beſides, having made your Requeſt, how is it " to be fulfilled? You beg him to give us our " Lives; and what if he do? Are we therefore " ſafe, becauſe we live? Is there any Safety with- " out Liberty? or rather, can we poorly live, " having loſt it, and with it our Honour and " Glory? Is there any Security in living at " *Rome*, when *Rome* is no longer free? That " City, great as it is, having no Security of her " own, can give me none. —— No, I will owe " mine to my Reſolution and my Sword; I can- " not enjoy Life at the Mercy of another. *Cæſar's* " Death alone aſcertained my Liberty to me, " which before was precarious: I ſmote him, to " be ſafe. This is a *Roman* Spirit; and whither- " ſoever I carry it, every Place will be *Rome* to " me; who am *Roman* enough to prefer every " Evil to Chains and Infamy, which to a *Roman* " are the higheſt of all Evils. I thought that we " had been releaſed from theſe mighty Evils, by " the Death of him who brought them upon us; " but it ſeems that we are not; elſe why a ſervile " Petition to a Youth, big with the Name and " the Ambition of *Cæſar*, for Mercy to thoſe Pa- " triots, who generouſly revenged their Country " upon that Tyrant, and cleared the World of " his Tyranny? It was not thus in the Common- " wealths of *Greece*, where the Children of Ty- " rants ſuffered, equally with their Fathers, the " Puniſhment of Tyranny.

" Can I then have any Appetite to ſee *Rome?* " Or, can *Rome* be ſaid to be *Rome?* We have " ſlain our Tyrant, we have reſtored her ancient " Liberty: But they are Favours thrown away; " ſhe is made free in ſpite of herſelf; and though " ſhe has ſeen a great and terrible Tyrant bereft " of his Grandeur and his Life, by a few of her " Citizens; yet, baſely deſponding of her own " Strength, ſhe impotently dreads the Name " of a dead Tyrant, revived in the Perſon of a " Stripling.

" No more of your Petitions to your young " *Cæſar* on my Behalf; nor, if you are wiſe, on " your own. You have not many Years to live; " do not be ſhewing that you over-rate the ſhort " Remains of an honourable Life, by making " prepoſterous and diſhonourable Court to a Boy. " Take Care that by this Conduct you do not " eclipſe the Luſtre of all your glorious Actions " againſt *Mark Anthony:* Do not turn your Glory " into Reproach, by giving the Malicious a " Handle to ſay, that Self-Love was the ſole " Motive of your Bitterneſs to him; and that, " had you not dreaded him, you would not have " oppoſed him: And yet will they not ſay this, " if they ſee, that, having declared War againſt " *Anthony*, you notwithſtanding leave Life and " Liberty at the Mercy of *Octavius*, and tolerate " in him all the Power which the other claimed? " They will ſay that you are not againſt having " a Maſter, only you would not have *Anthony* for " a Maſter.

" I well approve your Praiſes given to *Octavius* " for his Behaviour thus far; it is indeed praiſe- " worthy; provided his only Intention has been

" to

" to pull down the Tyranny of *Anthony*, without " eſtabliſhing a Tyranny of his own. But if " you are of Opinion, that *Octavius* is in ſuch a " Situation of Power, that it is neceſſary to ap- " proach him with humble Supplications to ſave " our Lives, and that it is convenient he ſhould " be truſted with this Power; I can only ſay, " that you lift the Reward of his Merits far above " his Merits: I thought that all his Services " were Services done to the Republick; but you " have conferred upon him that abſolute and im- " perial Power which he pretended to recover to " the Republick.

" If, in your Judgment, *Octavius* has earned " ſuch Laurels and Recompences for making " War againſt *Anthony*'s Tyranny, which was " only the Effects and Remains of *Cæſar*'s Ty- " ranny; to what Diſtinctions, to what Rewards, " would you intitle thoſe who exterminated, with " *Cæſar*, the Tyranny of *Cæſar*, for which they " felt the Bleſſings and Bounty of the *Roman* " People? Has this never entered into your " Thoughts? Behold here how effectually the " Terror of Evils to come extinguiſhes in the " Minds of Men all Impreſſions of Benefits re- " ceived! *Cæſar* is dead, and will never return " to ſhackle or frighten the City of *Rome*; ſo he " is no more thought of, nor are they who deli- " vered that City from him. But *Anthony* is ſtill " alive, and ſtill in Arms, and ſtill terrifies; and " ſo *Octavius* is adored, who beat *Anthony*. Hence " it is that *Octavius* is become of ſuch potent " Conſequence, that from his Mouth the *Roman* " People muſt expect our Doom, the Doom of " their Deliverers! And hence it is too, that

" we (thoſe Deliverers) are of ſuch humble Con-
" ſequence, that he muſt be ſupplicated to give us
" our Lives!

" I, as I ſaid, have a Soul, and I have a
" Sword; and am an Enemy to ſuch abject Sup-
" plications; ſo great an Enemy, that I deteſt
" thoſe that uſe them, and am an avowed Foe
" to him that expects them. I ſhall at leaſt be
" far away from the odious Company of Slaves;
" and where-ever I find Liberty, there I will
" find *Rome*. And for you that ſtay behind,
" who, not ſatiated with many Years, and many
" Honours, can behold Liberty extinct, and
" Virtue, with us, in Exile, and yet are not
" ſick of a wretched and precarious Life; I
" heartily pity you. For myſelf, whoſe Soul
" has never ebbed from its conſtant Principles, I
" ſhall ever be happy in the Conſciouſneſs of my
" Virtue; owing nothing to my Country, to-
" wards which I have faithfully diſcharged my
" Duty, I ſhall poſſeſs my Mind in Peace, and
" find the Reward of well-doing in the Satiſ-
" faction of having done it. What greater Plea-
" ſure does the World afford, than to deſpiſe the
" ſlippery Uncertainties of Life, and to value that
" only which is only valuable, private Virtue,
" and publick Liberty; that Liberty, which is
" the Bleſſing, and ought to be the Birthright,
" of all Mankind?

" But ſtill, I will never ſink with thoſe who
" are already falling; I will never yield with
" thoſe who have a Mind to ſubmit: I am re-
" ſolved to be always firm and independent: I
" will try all Expedients, I will exert my ut-
" moſt Proweſs, to baniſh Servitude, and ſet my

" Country

" Country entirely free. If Fortune favour me " as ſhe ought, the Bleſſing and Joy will be " every Man's; but if ſhe fails me, and my beſt " Endeavours be thrown away, yet ſtill I will " rejoice ſingle; and ſo far be too hard for For- " tune. What, in ſhort, can my Life be better " laid out in, than in continual Schemes, and re- " peated Efforts, for the common Liberty of my " Country?

" As to your Part in this Criſis, my dear *Ci-* " *cero*, it is my ſtrongeſt Advice and Requeſt to " you, not to deſert yourſelf: Do not diſtruſt " your Ability, and your Ability will not diſap- " point you; believe you can remedy our heavy " Evils, and you will remedy them. Our Miſe- " ries want no Encreaſe: Prevent, therefore, by " your Vigilance, any new Acceſſion. Former- " ly, in Quality of Conſul, you defeated, with " great Boldneſs, and Warmth for Liberty, a " formidable Conſpiracy againſt *Rome*, and ſaved " the Commonwealth; and what you did then " againſt *Catiline*, you do ſtill againſt *Anthony*. " Theſe Actions of yours have raiſed your Re- " putation high, and ſpread it far; but it will " be all tarniſhed or loſt, if you do not continue " to ſhew an equal Firmneſs upon as great an " Occaſion; Let this render all the Parts of your " Life equal, and ſecure Immortality to that " Glory of yours, which ought to be immor- " tal.

" From thoſe, who, like you, have performed " great Actions, as great or greater are expected: " By ſhewing that they can ſerve the Publick, " they make themſelves its Debtors; and it is " apt to exact ſtrict Payment, and to uſe them

" ſeverely if they do not pay: But from thoſe " who have performed no ſuch Actions, we ex- " pect none. This is the Difference betwixt the " Lot of unknown Talents, and of thoſe which " have been tried; and the Condition of the lat- " ter is no doubt the harder. Hence it is, that " though, in making Head againſt *Anthony*, you " have merited and received great and juſt Praiſes, " yet you have gained no new Admiration: By " ſo doing, you only continued, like a worthy " Conſular, the known Character of a great and " able Conſul. But if now at laſt you begin to " truckle to one as bad as him; if you abate " ever ſo little in that Vigour of Mind, and that " ſteady Courage, by which you expelled him " from the Senate, and drove him out of *Rome*; " you will never reap another Harveſt of Glory, " whatever you may deſerve; and even your paſt " Laurels will wither, and your paſt Renown be " forgot.

" There is nothing great or noble in Events, " which are the Fruit of Paſſion or Chance: " True Fame reſults only from the ſteady Perſe- " verance of Reaſon in the Paths and Purſuits of " Virtue. The Care, therefore, of the Com- " monwealth, and the Defence of her Liberties, " belong to you above all Men, becauſe you have " done more than all Men for Liberty and the " Commonwealth: Your great Abilities, your " known Zeal, your famous Actions, with the " united Call and Expectation of all Men, are " your Motives in this great Affair; Would you " have greater?

" You are not, therefore, to ſupplicate *Octavius* " for our Safety; do a braver Thing, owe it to

" your

" your own Magnanimity. Rouſe the *Roman*
" Genius within you; and conſider that this
" great and free City, which you more than
" once ſaved, will always be great and free, pro-
" vided her People do not want worthy Chiefs
" to reſiſt Uſurpation, and exterminate Tray-
" tors.

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SATURDAY, *April* 8, 1721. No. 24.

Of the natural Honeſty of the People, and their reaſonable Demands. How important it is to every Government to conſult their Affections and Intereſt.

SIR,

I Have obſerved, in a former Letter, that the People, when they are not miſled or corrupted, generally make a ſound Judgment of Things. They have natural Qualifications equal to thoſe of their Superiors; and there is oftener found a great Genius carrying a Pitch-fork, than carrying a White Staff. The poor Cook preferred by the Grand Seignior to be his Firſt Vizier, in order to cure the publick Diſorder and Confuſion occaſioned by the Ignorance, Corruption, and Neglect of the former Miniſtry, made good effectually his own Promiſe, and did Credit to his Maſter's Choice: He remedied the publick Diſorders, *and proved*, ſays Sir *Paul Ricaut*, *an able and excellent Miniſter of State.*

Beſides, there are not ſuch mighty Talents requiſite for Government, as ſome, who pretend to

them without poſſeſſing them, would make us believe: Honeſt Affections, and common Qualifications, are ſufficient; and the Adminiſtration has been always beſt executed, and the publick Liberty beſt preſerved, near the Origin and Riſe of States, when plain Honeſty and common Senſe alone governed the publick Affairs, and the Morals of Men were not corrupted with Riches and Luxury, nor their Underſtandings perverted by Subtleties and Diſtinctions. Great Abilities have, for the moſt part, if not always, been employed to miſlead the honeſt, but unwary, Multitude, and to draw them out of the open and plain Paths of publick Virtue and publick Good.

The People have no Biaſs to be Knaves; the Security of their Perſons and Property is their higheſt Aim. No Ambition prompts them; they cannot come to be great Lords, and to poſſeſs great Titles, and therefore deſire none. No aſpiring or unſociable Paſſions incite them; they have no Rivals for Place, no Competitor to pull down; they have no darling Child, Pimp, or Relation, to raiſe: they have no Occaſion for Diſſimulation or Intrigue; they can ſerve no End by Faction; they have no Intereſt, but the general Intereſt.

The ſame can rarely be ſaid of Great Men, who, to gratify private Paſſion, often bring down publick Ruin; who, to fill their private Purſes with many Thouſands, frequently load the People with many Millions; who oppreſs for a Miſtreſs, and, to ſave a Favourite, deſtroy a Nation; who too often make the Publick ſink and give way to their private Fortune; and, for a private Pleaſure, create a general Calamity. Beſides, being educated in Debauchery, and pampered in Riot and Luxury,

Luxury, they have no Senſe of the Misfortunes of other Men, nor Tenderneſs for thoſe who ſuffer them: They have no Notion of Miſeries which they do not feel. There is a Nation in *Europe*, which, within the Space of an Hundred Years laſt paſt, has been bleſſed with Patriots, who, void of every Talent and Inclination to do Good, and even ſtinted in their Ability for Roguery, were forced to be beholden, for moſt of the Miſchief which they did, to the ſuperior Arts and Abilities of humble Rogues and Brokers.

The firſt Principles of Power are in the People; and all the Projects of Men in Power ought to refer to the People, to aim ſolely at their Good, and end in it: And whoever will pretend to govern them without regarding them, will ſoon repent it. Such Feats of Errantry may do perhaps in *Aſia*; but in Countries where the People are free, it is Madneſs to hope to rule them againſt their Wills. They will know, that Government is appointed for their Sakes, and will be ſaucy enough to expect ſome Regard and ſome Good from their own Delegates. Thoſe Nations who are governed in ſpite of themſelves, and in a Manner that bids Defiance to their Opinions, their Intereſts, and their Underſtandings, are either Slaves, or will ſoon ceaſe to be Subjects.

Dominion that is not maintained by the Sword, muſt be maintained by Conſent; and in this latter Caſe, what Security can any Man at the Head of Affairs expect, but from purſuing the People's Welfare, and ſeeking their Good-Will? The Government of One for the Sake of One, is Tyranny; and ſo is the Government of a Few for the Sake of Themſelves: But Government executed for

the

the Good of All, and with the Conſent of All, is Liberty; and the Word *Government* is profaned, and its Meaning abuſed, when it ſignifies any Thing elſe.

In free Countries the People know all this. They have their Five Senſes in as great Perfection, as have thoſe who would treat them as if they had none. They are not wont to hate their Governors, till their Governors deſerve to be hated; and when this happens to be the Caſe, not abſolute Power itſelf, nor the Affections of a Prince inveſted with it, can protect or employ Miniſters deteſted by the People. Even the Grand Seignior, with all his boundleſs Authority, is frequently forced to give up his Firſt Miniſter (who is ſometimes his Son-in-Law, or Brother-in-Law) a Sacrifice to appeaſe the People's Rage.

The People, rightly managed, are the beſt Friends to Princes; and, when injured and oppreſſed, the moſt formidable Enemies. Princes, who have truſted to their Armies or their Nobility, have been often deceived and ruined; but Princes, who have truſted wholly to the People, have ſeldom been deceived or deſerted: The Reaſon is, that in all Governments, which are not Violent and Military, the People have more Power than either the Grandees or the Soldiery; and their Friendſhip is more ſincere, as having nothing to deſire but Freedom from Oppreſſion. And whilſt a Prince is thus beloved by his People, it will rarely happen that any can be ſo raſh and precipitate as to conſpire againſt him; and ſuch Conſpiracies have never the intended Succeſs: but, as *Machiavel* well obſerves, *When the People are diſſatisfied, and have taken a Prejudice againſt their Governors,*

verners, there is no Thing nor Perſon that they ought not to fear.

It is therefore of vaſt Importance to preſerve the Affections of the People even in thoſe Governments where they have no Share in the Adminiſtration. The wiſe States of *Holland* are ſo apprized of the Truth of this Maxim, that they have preſerved themſelves and their State by religiouſly obſerving it. Their Government conſiſts of many little Ariſtocracies, where the Magiſtrates chooſe each other, and the People have nothing to do; but in Spirit and Effect it is a Democracy, and the Diſpoſitions and Inclinations of the People have above all Things the greateſt Weight in their Counſels. The Jealouſy of the People makes a vigilant Magiſtracy, who are honeſt out of Fear of provoking them; and, by never doing it, are in great Safety.

But, Thanks be to Heaven and our worthy Anceſtors, our Liberties are better ſecured. We have a Conſtitution, in which the People have a large Share: They are one Part of the Legiſlature, and have the ſole Power of giving Money; which includes in it every Thing that they can ask for the publick Good; and the Repreſentatives, being neither awed nor bribed, will always act for their Country's Intereſt; their own being ſo interwoven with the People's Happineſs, that they muſt ſtand and fall together.

But what if our Delegates ſhould not be ſuffered to meet; or, when met, ſhould be ſo awed by Force (as formerly in *Denmark*) or ſo corrupted by Places and Penſions (as in the Reign of *Charles* II.) as to be ready to give up publick Liberty, and betray the Intereſt of their Principals to ſecure their own?

own? This we may be ſure can never happen under his Majeſty's moſt juſt and gentle Reign: However, it has happened formerly; and what has been, may be again in future Reigns.

What, in ſuch a Caſe, is to be done? What Remedies have our Laws provided againſt ſo fatal a Miſchief? Muſt the People patiently crouch under the heavieſt of all Evils? Or has our Conſtitution pointed out the Means of Redreſs? It would be abſurd to ſuppoſe that it has not; and, in effect, the People have a legal Remedy at hand: It is their undoubted Right, and acknowledged to be ſo in the *Bill of Rights* paſſed in the Reign of King *Charles* I. and ſince, by the Act of Settlement of the Crown at the *Revolution*; humbly to repreſent their publick Grievances, and to petition for Redreſs to thoſe whoſe Duty it is to right them, or to ſee them righted: And it is certain, that in all Countries, the People's Misfortunes are greater or leſs, in Proportion as this Right is encouraged or checked.

It is indeed the beſt and the only juſt Way that they can take to breathe their Grievances; and whenever this Way has been taken, eſpecially when it has been univerſally taken, our Kings have always accepted ſo powerful an Application. Our Parliaments too, who are the Keepers and Barriers of our Liberty, have ſhewn themſelves ready and willing to receive the modeſt Complaints and Repreſentations of their Principals, and to apply quick Remedies to the Grievances contained in them. It has, indeed, been always thought highly imprudent, not to ſay dangerous, to reſiſt the general Groans and Entreaties of the People, uttered in this Manner.

This

This has been a Method, which has always had great Weight with good Men, and has been always a great Terror to bad. It has therefore always been encouraged or diſcouraged, according to the Innocence or Guilt of Men in Power. A Prince, who minds the Welfare and deſires the Affections of his Subjects, cannot wiſh for a better Expedient to know how his Servants are approved, and how his Government is liked, than by this Way of countenancing his People in laying their Hearts, their Wiſhes, and their Requeſts before him; and Miniſters never can be averſe to ſuch Repreſentations of the Complaints of the People, unleſs they have given the People Occaſion to complain.

Titus and *Trajan*, conſcious of their own virtuous Adminiſtration, and worthy Purpoſes, courted Addreſſes and Informations of this kind from their Subjects: They wiſely knew, that if the *Roman* People had free Leave to ſpeak, they would not take Leave to act; and that, whilſt they could have Redreſs, they would not ſeek Revenge.

None but deſperate Parricides will make the People deſperate.

G *I am*, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *April* 15, 1721. No. 25.

Conſiderations on the deſtructive Spirit of arbitrary Power. With the Bleſſings of Liberty, and our own Conſtitution.

SIR,

THE Good of the Governed being the ſole End of Government, they muſt be the greateſt and beſt Governors, who make their People great and happy; and they the worſt, who make their People little, wicked, and miſerable. Power in a free State, is a Truſt committed by All to One or a Few, to watch for the Security, and purſue the Intereſt, of All: And, when that Security is not ſought, nor that Intereſt obtained, we know what Opinion the People will have of their Governors.

It is the hard Fate of the World, that there ſhould be any Difference in the Views and Intereſts of the Governors and Governed; and yet it is ſo in moſt Countries. Men who have a Truſt frankly beſtowed upon them by the People, too frequently betray that Truſt, become Conſpirators againſt their Benefactors, and turn the Sword upon thoſe who gave it; inſomuch that in the greateſt Part of the Earth, People are happy if they can defend themſelves againſt their Defenders.

Let us look round this great World, and behold what an immenſe Majority of the whole Race of Men crouch under the Yoke of a few Tyrants, naturally as low as the meaneſt of themſelves, and, by being Tyrants, worſe than the worſt; who,

as Mr. *Sidney* obſerves, *uſe their Subjects like Aſſes and Maſtiff Dogs, to work and to fight, to be oppreſſed and killed for them.* Even the good Qualities and Courage of ſuch Subjects are their Misfortune, by ſtrengthening the wicked Hands of their brutal Maſters, and ſtrengthening their own Chains. Tyrants conſider their People as their Cattle, and uſe them worſe, as they fear them more. Thus the moſt of Mankind are become the wretched Slaves of thoſe, who are or ſhould be their own Creatures; they maintain their haughty Maſters like Gods, and their haughty Maſters often uſe them like Dogs: A fine Specimen of Gratitude and Duty!

Yet this cruel Spirit in Tyrants is not always owing naturally to the Men, ſince they are naturally like other Men; but it is owing to the Nature of the Dominion which they exerciſe. Good Laws make a good Prince, if he has a good Underſtanding; but the beſt Men grow miſchievous when they are ſet above Laws. *Claudius* was a very harmleſs Man, while he was a private Man; but when he came to be a Tyrant, he proved a bloody one, almoſt as bloody as his Nephew and Predeceſſor *Caligula*; who had alſo been a very good Subject, but when he came to be the *Roman* Emperor, grew the profeſſed Executioner of Mankind.

There is ſomething ſo wanton and monſtrous in lawleſs Power, that there ſcarce ever was a human Spirit that could bear it; and the Mind of Man, which is weak and limited, ought never to be truſted with a Power that is boundleſs. The State of Tyranny is a State of War; and where it prevails, inſtead of an Intercourſe of Confidence and Affection,

tion, as between a lawful Prince and his Subjects, nothing is to be ſeen but Jealouſy, Miſtruſt, Fear and Hatred: An arbitrary Prince and his Slaves often deſtroy one another, to be ſafe: They are continually plotting againſt his Life; he is continually ſhedding their Blood, and plundering them of their Property.

Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timet.

I think it was *Juſtinian*, the Emperor, who ſaid, *Though we are above the Law, yet we live according to the Law:* But, by his Majeſty's Favour, there was more Turn than Truth in the Saying; for Princes that think themſelves above Law, act almoſt conſtantly againſt all Law; of which Truth *Juſtinian* himſelf is a known Inſtance. Good Princes never think themſelves above it.

It is an affecting Obſervation, that the Power given for the Protection of the World, ſhould, in ſo many Places, be turned to the Deſtruction of it. "As if the Law was in Force for their Deſtruc-"tion, and not for their Preſervation; that it "ſhould have Power to kill, but not to protect, "them: A Thing no leſs horrid, than if the "Sun ſhould burn us without lighting us, or the "Earth ſerve only to bury, and not feed and nou-"riſh us," ſays Mr. *Waller* in a Speech of his in Parliament.

Deſpotick Power has defaced the Creation, and laid the World waſte. In the fineſt Countries in *Aſia*, formerly full of People, you are now forced to travel by the Compaſs: There are no Roads, Houſes, nor Inhabitants. The Sun is left to ſcorch up the Graſs and Fruits, which it had raiſed; or the Rain to rot them: The Gifts of God

God are left to periſh; there being none of his Creatures, neither Man nor Beaſt, left to uſe and conſume them. The Grand Seignior, who (if we may believe ſome ſanctified Mouths, not addicted to Lying) is the Vicegerent of Heaven, fruſtrates the Bounty of Heaven; and, being the Father of his People, has almoſt butchered them all. Thoſe few (comparatively very few) who have yet ſurvived the miſerable Fate of their Brethren, and are reſerved for Sacrifices to his Cruelty, as Occaſion offers, and his Luſt prompts him, live the ſtarving and wretched Property of ravenous and bloody Baſhaws; whoſe Duty to their Maſter, as well as their own Avarice, obliges them to keep the People, over whom they preſide, poor and miſerable.

But neither Baſhaws, nor Armies, could keep that People in ſuch abject Slavery, if their Prieſts and Doctors had not made Paſſive Obedience a Principle of their Religion. The holy Name of God is prophaned, and his Authority belied, to bind down Wretchedneſs upon his Creatures, and to ſecure the Tyrant that does it. The moſt conſummate of all Wickedneſs, and the higheſt of all Evils, are ſanctified by the Teachers of Religion, and made by them a Part of it. Yes, *Turkiſh* Slavery is confirmed, and *Turkiſh* Tyranny defended, by Religion!

Sir *Paul Ricaut* tells us, that the *Turks* maintain, *That the Grand Seignior can never be depoſed, or made accountable for his Crimes, whilſt he deſtroys careleſſy of his Subjects under a Hundred a Day:* 'Tis made Martyrdom to die ſubmiſſively by the Hand of the Tyrant; and ſome of his higheſt Slaves have declared that they wanted only that Honour to com-

plete

plete their Felicity. They hold, that it is their Duty to ſubmit, though their Tyrant *command a whole Army of them to precipitate themſelves from a Rock, or to build a Bridge with Piles of their Bodies for him to paſs a River, or to kill one another to afford him Paſtime and Pleaſure.*

Merciful God! Is this Government? And do ſuch Governors govern by Authority from Thee!

It is ſcarce credible what Monſieur *de L'Eſtoille* tells us: He ſays, he travelled in the *Indies* for above Twenty Days together, through Lanes of People hanged upon Trees, by Command of the King; who had ordered above a Hundred Thouſand of them to be thus murthered and gibbeted, only becauſe two or three Robberies had been committed amongſt them. *Bayle Reponſe a Queſt. d'une Provinc.* Tom. I. p. 595.

It is one of the great Evils of Servitude, that let the Tyranny be ever ſo ſevere, 'tis always flattered; and the more ſevere 'tis, the more 'tis flattered. The Oppreſſors of Mankind are flattered beyond all others; becauſe Fear and Servitude naturally produce, as well as have recourſe to, Flattery, as the beſt Means of Self-Preſervation; whereas Liberty, having no Occaſion for it, ſcorns it. Sir *Paul Ricaut* aſcribes the Decay of the *Ottoman* Empire to the Force of Flattery, and calls the *Turkiſh* Court, a Priſon and Banniard of Slaves.

Old *Muley*, the Lord's Anointed of *Morocco*, who it ſeems is ſtill alive, is thought to have butchered Forty Thouſand of his Subjects with his own Hands. — Such a Father is he of his People! And yet his Right to ſhed human Blood being a genuine Characteriſtick of the Church of *Morocco*,

as by Law eſtabliſhed, People are greedy to die by his Hand; which, they are taught to imagine, diſpatches them forthwith to Paradiſe: Inſomuch that, though, as I am told, every Time he mounts his Horſe, he ſlices off the Head of the Slave that holds his Stirrup, to ſhew that he is as good an Executioner as he is a Horſeman, yet there is a conſtant Contention among his Slaves, who ſhall be the happy Martyr on that Occaſion; ſo that ſeveral of them crowding to his Stirrup at once, for the gracious Favour, his Majeſty has ſometimes the Honour to cut off Two Heads, and to make Two Saints, with one Blow.

The Exerciſe of deſpotick Power is the unrelenting War of an armed Tyrant upon his unarmed Subjects: It is a War of one Side, and in it there is neither Peace nor Truce. *Tacitus* deſcribes it, — *Sæva juſſa, continuas accuſationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium:* — "Cruel "and bloody Orders, continual Accuſations, "fatheſs Friendſhips, and the Deſtruction of "Innocents." In another Place he ſays, "That "*Italy* was one continual Shambles, and moſt of "its fair Cities were defaced or overthrown; "*Rome* itſelf was in many Places laid in Aſhes, "with the greateſt Part of its magnificent Buildings: Virtue was deſpiſed, and barefaced Debauchery prevailed. The ſolitary Iſlands were "filled with illuſtrious Exiles, and the very Rocks "were ſtained with Slaughters: But, in the City "itſelf, Cruelty raged ſtill more; it was dangerous to be Noble, it was a Crime to be Rich, "it was Capital to have borne Honours, and "High Treaſon to have refuſed them; and for "Virtue and Merit, they brought ſure and ſudden

"Deſtruc-

" Deſtruction.". Theſe were ſome of the Ravages of abſolute Dominion! And as to the common People, the ſame Author ſays, " They were de-" bauched and diſpirited, and given up to Idle-" neſs and ſeeing Shews." *Plebs ſordida Circo & Theatris ſueta.*

Oh! abject State of ſuch as tamely groan
Under a blind Dependency on One!

This is a Sort of Government, which is too great and heavy a Curſe for any one to wiſh, even upon thoſe who are fooliſh enough, or wicked enough, to contend for its Lawfulneſs; or, which is the ſame Thing, for Submiſſion to it: But ſurely, if ever any Man deſerved to feel the mercileſs Gripes of Tyranny, it is he who is an Advocate for it. *Phalaris* acted juſtly, when he hanſelled his Brazen Bull with the Wretch who invented it.

As arbitrary Power in a ſingle Perſon has made greater Havock in human Nature, and thinned Mankind more, than all the Beaſts of Prey and all the Plagues and Earthquakes that ever were; let thoſe Men conſider what they have to anſwer for, who would countenance ſuch a monſtrous Evil in the World, or would oppoſe thoſe that would oppoſe it. A Bear, a Lion, or a Tyger, may now and then pick up ſingle Men in a Wood, or a Deſart; an Earthquake ſometimes may bury a Thouſand or Two Inhabitants in the Ruins of a Town; and the Peſtilence may once in many Years carry off a much greater Number: But a Tyrant ſhall, out of a wanton perſonal Paſſion, carry Fire and Sword through a whole Continent, and deliver up a Hundred Thouſand of his Fellow Creatures

Creatures to the Slaughter in one Day, without any Remorſe or further Notice, than that they died for his Glory. I ſay nothing of the moral Effect of Tyranny; though 'tis certain that Ignorance, Vice, Poverty, and Vileneſs, always attend it.

He who compares the World now with what it was formerly, how populous once, how thin now; and conſiders the Cauſe of this doleful Alteration, will find juſt Reaſon to fear, that Spiritual and Temporal Tyranny, if they go on much longer, will utterly extinguiſh human Race. Of *Turkey* I have ſpoken already: The great Continent of *America* is almoſt unpeopled, the *Spaniards* having deſtroyed, 'tis thought, about Forty Millions of its Natives; and for ſome Kingdoms in *Europe*, eſpecially towards the North, I do not believe that they have now half the Inhabitants that they had ſo lately as a Hundred Years ago.

Bleſſed be God, there are ſtill ſome free Countries in *Europe*, that abound with People and with Plenty, and *England* with the foremoſt. This demonſtrates the ineſtimable Bleſſing of Liberty. Can we ever over-rate it, or be too jealous of a Treaſure which includes in it almoſt all human Felicities? Or can we encourage too much thoſe that contend for it, and thoſe that promote it? It is the Parent of Virtue, Pleaſure, Plenty, and Security; and 'tis innocent, as well as lovely. In all Contentions between Liberty and Power, the latter has almoſt conſtantly been the Aggreſſor. Liberty, if ever it produce any Evils, does alſo cure them: Its worſt Effect, Licentiouſneſs, never does, and never can, continue long. Anarchy cannot be of much Duration; and where 'tis ſo, it is the Child

and

and Companion of Tyranny; which is not Government, but a Diſſolution of it, as Tyrants are the Enemies of Mankind.

Power is like Fire; it warms, ſcorches, or deſtroys, according as it is watched, provoked, or increaſed. It is as dangerous as uſeful. Its only Rule is the Good of the People; but becauſe it is apt to break its Bounds, in all good Governments nothing, or as little as may be, ought to be left to Chance, or the Humours of Men in Authority: All ſhould proceed by fixed and ſtated Rules; and upon any Emergency, new Rules ſhould be made. This is the Conſtitution, and this the Happineſs, of *Engliſhmen*; as has been formerly ſhewn at large in theſe Letters.

We have a Conſtitution that abhors abſolute Power; we have a King that does not deſire it; and we are a People that will never ſuffer it: No free People will ever ſubmit to it, unleſs it ſteal upon them by Treachery, or they be driven into it by Violence. But a State can never be too ſecure againſt this terrible, this laſt of all human Evils; which may be brought upon them by many Cauſes, even by ſome that at firſt Sight do not ſeem to threaten any ſuch Thing: And of all thoſe Cauſes, none ſeems more boding than a general Diſtreſs, which certainly produces general Diſcontent, the Parent of Revolutions; and in what ſuch a Circumſtance of Affairs may end, no Man can ever foreſee: Few are brought about without Armies; a Remedy almoſt always worſe than the Diſeaſe. What is got by Soldiers, muſt be maintained by Soldiers; and we have, in this Paper, already ſeen the frightful Image of a Military Government; a Government, which, at beſt,

beſt, is violent and bloody, and eternally inconſiſtent with Law and Property.

It is therefore a dreadful Wickedneſs to have any Share in giving Occaſion for thoſe Diſcontents, which are ſo apt to burſt into Rage and Confuſion. A State ſometimes recovers out of a Convulſion, and gains new Vigour by it; but it much oftener expires in it. Heaven preſerve me from ever beholding contending Armies in *England!* They are different Things from what they once were. Our Armies formerly were only a Number of the People armed occaſionally; and Armies of the People are the only Armies which are not formidable to the People. Hence it is, that, in the many Revolutions occaſioned by the Striſe between the Two Royal Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, there never was any Danger of Slavery from an armed Force: A ſingle Battle decided the Contention; and next Day theſe popular Soldiers went Home, and reſumed their ordinary Arms, the Tools of Husbandry. But ſince that Time Armies have not been ſo eaſily parted with; but after the Danger was over for which they were raiſed, have often been obſtinately kept up, and by that Means created Dangers ſtill as great.

Some Quacks in Politicks may perhaps venture publick Diſturbances, out of an Opinion that they ſhall be able to prevent them by Art, or ſuppreſs them by Force. But this ſhews their Capacity, as well as their Wickedneſs: For, not to mention the Malignity of their Hearts, in riſquing publick Ruin, to gratify a private Appetite; how can any Event be certainly foreſeen, when the Meaſure of the Cauſe cannot be certainly known? They can never aſcertain the Degree of Oppoſi-

tion; they cannot foreknow what Circumſtances may happen, nor into whoſe Hands Things may fall. *Cicero* did not dream, when he employed *Octavius* for the Commonwealth, that his young Champion for Liberty would ever be the Tyrant of his Country. Who could foreſee that *Cromwel* would enſlave thoſe whom he was employed to defend? But there is no truſting of Liberty in the Hands of Men, who are obeyed by great Armies.

From hence may be ſeen what a fatal and crying Crime it would be, in any free Country, to break the Confidence between the Prince and his People. When Loyalty is once turned into Indifference, Indifference will ſoon be turned into Hatred; Hatred will be returned with Hatred; Reſentment may produce Tyranny, and Rage may produce Rebellion. There is no Miſchief which this mutual Miſtruſt and Averſion may not bring forth. They muſt therefore be the blackeſt Traytors, who are the firſt Authors of ſo terrible an Evil, as are they who would endeavour to protect them.

Henry III. of *Caſtile* ſaid, *That he feared the Curſe of his People more than he did the Arms of his Enemies:* In which Saying he ſhewed as much Wiſdom as Humanity; ſince, while he was beloved at Home, he had nothing to fear from Abroad, and the Curſes of his Subjects were the likelieſt Means to bring upon him the Arms of his Enemies.

G. *I am*, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *April* 22, 1721. No. 26.

The ſad Effects of general Corruption, quoted from Algernon Sidney, *Eſq;*

SIR,

I Send you, for the Entertainment of your Readers this Week, two or three Paſſages out of the great *Algernon Sidney:* An Author, who can never be too much valued or read; who does Honour to the *Engliſh* Nobility, and to the *Engliſh* Name; who has written better upon Government than any *Engliſhman*, and as well as any Foreigner; and who was a Martyr for that Liberty which he has ſo amiably deſcribed, and ſo nobly defended. He fell a Sacrifice to the vile and corrupt Court of our pious *Charles* II. He had aſſerted the Rights of Mankind, and ſhewed the Odiouſneſs of Tyranny; he had expoſed the Abſurdity and Vileneſs of the ſacred and faſhionable Doctrines of thoſe Days, Paſſive Obedience, and Hereditary Right; Doctrines, which give the Lye to common Senſe, and which would deſtroy all common Happineſs and Security amongſt Men! Doctrines, which were never practiſed by thoſe that preached them! and Doctrines, which are big with Nonſenſe, Contradiction, Impoſſibility, Miſery, Wickedneſs, and Deſolation! Theſe were his Crimes, and theſe his Glory.

The Book is every way excellent: He had read and digeſted all Hiſtory; and this Performance of his takes in the whole Buſineſs of Government:

It makes us ſome Amends for the Loſs of *Cicero's* Books *de Republica*. Colonel *Sidney* had all the clear and comprehenſive Knowledge, and all the Dignity of Expreſſion, of that great Maſter of Eloquence and Politicks; his Love of Liberty was as warm, his Honeſty as great, and his Courage greater.

G

" Liberty cannot be preſerved, if the Manners " of the People are corrupted; nor abſolute Mo- " narchy introduced, where they are ſincere: " which is ſufficient to ſhew, that thoſe who ma- " nage free Governments ought always, to the " utmoſt of their Power, to oppoſe Corruption, " becauſe otherwiſe both they and their Govern- " ment muſt inevitably periſh; and that, on the " other hand, the abſolute Monarch muſt endea- " vour to introduce it, becauſe he cannot ſubſiſt " without it. 'Tis alſo ſo natural for all ſuch " Monarchs to place Men in Power who pretend " to love their Perſons, and will depend upon their " Pleaſure, that poſſibly 'twould be hard to find " one in the World who has not made it the Rule " of his Government: And this is not only the " Way to Corruption, but the moſt dangerous of " all. For though a good Man may love a good " Monarch, he will obey him only when he com- " mands that which is juſt; and no one can en- " gage himſelf blindly to do whatever he is com- " manded, without renouncing all Virtue and Re- " ligion; becauſe he knows not whether that " which ſhall be commanded is conſiſtent with " each, or directly contrary to the Laws of God " and Man. But if ſuch a Monarch be evil,

" and

" and his Actions ſuch as they are too often found
" to be; whoever bears an Affection to him, and
" ſeconds his Deſigns, declares himſelf an Enemy
" to all that is good; and the Advancement of
" ſuch Men to Power, does not only introduce,
" foment, and increaſe Corruption, but fortifies
" it in ſuch a Manner, that without an entire
" Renovation of that State, it cannot be removed.
" Ill Men may poſſibly creep into any Govern-
" ment; but when the worſt are placed neareſt
" the Throne, and raiſed to Honours for being
" ſo, they will with that Force endeavour to draw
" all Men to a Conformity of Spirit with them-
" ſelves, that it can no otherwiſe be prevented
" than by deſtroying them, and the Principle in
" which they live.

" Man naturally follows that which is good,
" or ſeems to him to be ſo. Hence it is, that in
" well-governed States, where a Value is put upon
" Virtue, and no one honoured unleſs for ſuch
" Qualities as are beneficial to the Publick; Men
" are from the tendereſt Years brought up in a
" Belief, that nothing in this World deſerves to
" be ſought after, but ſuch Honours as are acquired
" by virtuous Actions: By this Means Virtue it-
" ſelf becomes popular, as in *Sparta*, *Rome*, and
" other Places, where Riches (which, with the
" Vanity that follows them, and the Honours
" Men give to them, are the Root of all Evil)
" were either totally baniſhed, or little regarded.
" When no other Advantage attended the greateſt
" Riches, than the Opportunity of living more
" ſumptuouſly or deliciouſly, Men of great Spirits
" ſlighted them When *Ariſtippus* told *Cleanthes*,
" that if he would go to Court and flatter the

" Tyrant, he need not ſeek his Supper under a " Hedge; the Philoſopher anſwered, That he " who could content himſelf with ſuch a Supper, " need not go to Court to flatter the Tyrant. " *Epaminondas*, *Ariſtides*, *Phocion*, and even the " *Lacedemonian* Kings, found no Inconvenience in " Poverty, whilſt their Virtue was honoured, and " the richeſt Princes in the World feared their " Valour and Power. It was not difficult for *Curius*, " *Fabricius*, *Cincinnatus*, or *Emilius Paulus*, to con- " tent themſelves with the narroweſt Fortune, " when it was no Obſtacle to them in the Purſuit " of thoſe Honours which their Virtues deſerved. " 'Twas in vain to think of bribing a Man, who " ſupped upon the Coleworts of his own Garden. " He could not be gained by Gold, who did not " think it neceſſary. He that could riſe from the " Plough to the Triumphal Chariot, and content- " edly return thither again, could not be corrupt- " ed; and he that left the Senſe of his Poverty " to his Executors, who found not wherewith to " bury him, might leave *Macedon* and *Greece* to " the Pillage of his Soldiers, without taking to " himſelf any Part of the Booty. But when " Luxury was brought into Faſhion, and they " came to be honoured who lived magnificently, " though they had in themſelves no Qualities to " diſtinguiſh them from the baſeſt of Slaves, the " moſt virtuous Men were expoſed to Scorn if " they were poor; and that Poverty, which had " been the Mother and Nurſe of their Virtue, grew " inſupportable. The Poet well underſtood what " Effect this Change had upon the World, who ſaid,

Nullum crimen abeſt facinuſque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit. JUVENAL.

" When

" When Riches grew to be neceſſary, the Deſire " of them, which is the Spring of all Miſchief, " followed. They who could not obtain Ho- " nours by the nobleſt Actions, were obliged to " get Wealth, or purchaſe them from Whores or " Villains, who expoſed them to Sale: And when " they were once entered into this Track, they " ſoon learned the Vices of thoſe from whom they " had received their Preferment, and to delight in " the Ways that had brought to it. When they " were come to this, nothing could ſtop them: " All Thought and Remembrance of Good was " extinguiſhed. They who had bought the Com- " mands of Armies or Provinces from *Icelus* or " *Narciſſus*, ſought only to draw Money from " them, to enable them to purchaſe higher Dig- " nities, or gain a more aſſured Protection from " thoſe Patrons. This brought the Government " of the World under a moſt infamous Traffick; " and the Treaſures ariſing from it were, for the " moſt part, diſſipated by worſe Vices than the " Rapine, Violence, and Fraud with which they " had been gotten. The Authors of thoſe Crimes " had nothing left but their Crimes; and the Ne- " ceſſity of committing more, through the Indi- " gence into which they were plunged by Extra- " vagance of their Expences. Theſe Things are " inſeparable from the Life of a Courtier; for as " ſervile Natures are guided rather by Senſe than " Reaſon, ſuch as addict themſelves to the Service " of Courts, find no other Conſolation in their " Miſery, than what they receive from ſenſual " Pleaſures, or ſuch Vanities as they put a Value " upon; and have no other Care than to get " Money for their Supply, by begging, ſtealing,

" bribing, and other infamous Practices. Their " Offices are more or leſs eſteemed, according to " the Opportunities they afford for the Exerciſe " of theſe Virtues; and no Man ſeeks them for " any other End than for Gain, nor takes any " other Way than that which conduces to it. " The uſual Means of attaining them are, by " obſerving the Prince's Humour, flattering his " Vices, ſerving him in his Pleaſures, fomenting " his Paſſions, and by advancing his worſt De- " ſigns, to create an Opinion in him that they " love his Perſon, and are entirely addicted to " his Will. When Valour, Induſtry, and Wiſ- " dom advanced Men to Offices, it was no eaſy " Matter for a Man to perſuade the Senate he " had ſuch Qualities as were required, if he had " them not: But when Princes ſeek only ſuch as " love them, and will do what they command, " 'tis eaſy to impoſe upon them; and becauſe " none that are good will obey them when they " command that which is not ſo, they are always " encompaſſed by the worſt. Thoſe who follow " them only for Reward, are moſt liberal in pro- " feſſing Affection to them; and by that Means " riſe to Places of Authority and Power. The " Fountain being thus corrupted, nothing that is " pure can come from it. Theſe mercenary " Wretches having the Management of Affairs, " Juſtice and Honour are ſet at a Price, and the " moſt lucrative Traffick in the World is thereby " eſtabliſhed. Eutropius, *when he was a Slave, uſed* " *to pick Pockets and Locks; but being made a Mini-* " *ſter, he ſold Cities, Armies, and Provinces*; (*) *and*

(*) —— Nunc uberiore rapina
Peccat in urbe manus. CLAUD.

" *ſome*

" *ſome have undertaken to give probable Reaſons to*
" *believe, that* Pallas, *one of* Claudius's *manumiſed*
" *Slaves, by theſe Means, brought together more*
" *Wealth in Six Years, than all the* Roman *Dicta-*
" *tors and Conſuls had done, from the Expulſion of*
" *the Kings to their Paſſage into* Aſia. The reſt
" walked in the ſame Way, and the ſame Arts,
" and many of them ſucceeded in the ſame Man-
" ner. Their Riches conſiſted not of Spoils
" taken from Enemies, but were the baſe Product
" of their own Corruption. They valued no-
" thing but Money, and thoſe who could bribe
" them were ſure to be advanced to the higheſt
" Offices; and, whatever they did, feared no Pu-
" niſhment. Like Effects will ever proceed from
" the like Cauſes. When Vanity, Luxury, and
" Prodigality are in Faſhion, the Deſire of Riches
" muſt neceſſarily increaſe in proportion to them:
" And when the Power is in the Hands of baſe
" mercenary Perſons, they will always (to uſe the
" Courtiers Phraſe) make as much Profit of their
" Places as they can. Not only Matters of Fa-
" vour, but of Juſtice too, will be expoſed to
" Sale; and no Way will be open to Honours
" or Magiſtracies, but by paying largely for them.
" He that gets an Office by theſe Means, will
" not execute it *gratis:* He thinks he may ſell
" what he has bought; and would not have en-
" tered by corrupt Ways, if he had not intended
" to deal corruptly: Nay, if a well-meaning Man
" ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be ſo far carried away
" by the Stream of a prevailing Cuſtom, as to
" purchaſe Honours of ſuch Villains, he would be
" obliged to continue in the ſame Courſe, that he
" might gain Riches to procure the Continuance

" of his Benefactors Protection, or to obtain the " Favour of ſuch as happen to ſucceed them. " And the Corruption thus beginning in the Head, " muſt neceſſarily diffuſe itſelf into the Members " of the Commonwealth: Or, if any one (which " is not to be expected) after having been guilty " of one Villainy, ſhould reſolve to commit no " more, it could have no other Effect, than to " bring him to Ruin; and he being taken away, " all Things would return to their former Chan- " nel.

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *April* 29, 1721. No. 27.

General Corruption, how ominous to the Publick, and how diſcouraging to every virtuous Man. With its fatal Progreſs whenever encouraged.

SIR,

SALLUST, or whoever elſe was the Author of the two Diſcourſes to *Cæſar* about ſettling the Commonwealth, obſerves to that Emperor, that thoſe Magiſtrates judge wildly, who would derive their own Security from the Corruption of the People; and therefore make them wicked Men, to make them good Subjects: *Whereas*, ſays he, *'tis the Intereſt of a virtuous Prince to make his People virtuous; for, the Debauched, having thrown off all Reſtraint, are of all Men the moſt ungovernable.*

Pliny tells *Trajan*, That all his Predeceſſors, except *Nerva*, and one or two more, ſtudied how

to

to debauch their People, and how to baniſh all Virtue, by introducing all Vices; firſt, becauſe they were delighted to ſee others like themſelves; ſecondly, becauſe the Minds of the *Romans* being depraved by the Taſte and Vices of Slaves, they would bear with greater Tameneſs the Imperial Yoke of Servitude.

Thus did theſe Governors and Enemies of *Rome* deſtroy Virtue, to ſet up Power. Nor was ſuch Policy at all new or ſtrange: It was then, and always will be, the direct Road to abſolute Monarchy, which is in its Nature at everlaſting Enmity with all Goodneſs and Honeſty. The *Roman* Virtue and the *Roman* Liberty expired together; Tyranny and Corruption came upon them almoſt hand in hand.

This ſhews the Importance of an honeſt Magiſtracy; nothing certainly is more threatening, or more to be apprehended, than a corrupt one. A Knave in Power is as much to be dreaded, as a Fool with a Firebrand in a Magazine of Powder: You have ſcarce a bare Chance for not being blown up.

From the wicked and worthleſs Men, who engroſſed all the Places at *Rome* in the latter Days of the Commonwealth, and from the monſtrous Prodigalities, infamous Briberies, and endleſs Corruptions, promoted by theſe Men, the ſudden Thraldom of that glorious City might eaſily have been foreſeen. It was ſcarce poſſible to be honeſt, and preferred. *Atticus* would never accept of any Employment, though he was offered the higheſt. "This Refuſal, *ſays Monſieur* Bayle, was doubt-"leſs owing to his Virtue: There was no riſing "to Offices then, but by Means that were infa-

"mous;

" mous; nor was there any ſuch Thing as exe-
" cuting theſe Offices according to the Rules of
" Juſtice and the publick Good, without being
" expoſed to the Reſentment and Violence of
" many and great wicked Men. He therefore
" choſe to be rather a virtuous private Man, than
" an exalted and publick Rogue.

" How charming is this Example, but how
" rare! If all Men were like *Atticus*, there would
" be no Danger of a State of Anarchy. But as
" to that we may be eaſy; for there will be al-
" ways more Rogues and Rooks at hand to be
" devouring and monopolizing Places, by all pro-
" per vile Means, than there will be Places to be-
" ſtow.

Bayle goes on, and tells us of " a great Travel-
" ler, who being rallied upon his rambling Hu-
" mour, anſwered, That he would ceaſe Travel-
" ling, as ſoon as ever he could find a Country
" where Power and Credit were in the Hands of
" honeſt Men, and Preferments went by Merit.
" *Nay then*, ſays one who heard him, *you will in-*
" *fallibly die travelling.*

Corruption, Bribery, and Treachery, were ſuch Ways to Power, as *Atticus* would not tread. Colonel *Sidney* ſays, that " a noble Perſon in his
" Time, who was a great Enemy to Bribery,
" was turned out from a conſiderable Poſt, as a
" Scandal to the Court; *For*, ſaid the principal
" Miniſter, *he will make no Profit of his Place*;
" *and by that Means caſt a Scandal upon thoſe that*
" *do.*" And *Alexander ab Alexandro* tells a Story of
" a very honeſt Man, well skilled in the Langua-
" ges, who having long ſtruggled with Difficulties
" and Poverty, while he truſted in vain to his

" Honeſty

" Honeſty and Learning, bethought himſelf of a " contrary Road; and therefore turning Pimp and " Pathick, inſtantly he proſpered, and got great " Riches, Power, and Places.

Aude aliquid brevibus gyaris & carcere dignum.

Cicero, who lived to ſee diſmal Days of Ambition and Corruption at *Rome*, was ſenſible that he could do little or no Good with all his Abilities and his Honeſty. " If I ſaw, *ſays he in a Letter to* " *Lentulus*, if I ſaw the Commonwealth held and " governed by corrupt and deſperate Men, as " has happened in my Days and formerly, no " Motive or Conſideration ſhould engage me in " their Intereſts; neither their Bribes could move " me, nor could Dangers, which often ſway " the boldeſt Men, terrify me; nor could any " of their Civilities, or any of their Obligations, " ſoften me.

Talking, in another Place, of the Senate, then awed by Power, or governed by Avarice, he ſays, *Aut aſſentiendum eſt nulla cum gravitate paucis, aut fruſtra diſſentiendum:* That is, You muſt either baſely vote with *Craſſus* and *Cæſar*, and one or two Men more in Power, or vote againſt them to no Purpoſe. Theſe great Men did not ſeek Power, nor uſe it, to do Good to their Country, which is the End of Power; but to themſelves, which is the Abuſe of Power. Where Government is degenerated into Jobbing, it quickly runs into Tyranny and Diſſolution: And he who in any Country poſſeſſes himſelf of a great Poſt for the Sake of gainful Jobbs, as a certain great Perſon once owned that he did, ought to finiſh his laſt Jobb under a Gallows.

It is natural and neceſſary for thoſe that have corrupt Ends, to make uſe of Means that are corrupt, and to hate all Men that are uncorrupt.

I would lay it down as a Rule for all Nations to conſider and obſerve, That where Bribery is practiſed, 'tis a thouſand to one but Miſchief is intended; and the more Bribery, the more Miſchief. When therefore the People, or their Truſtees, are bribed, they would do well to conſider, that it is not, it cannot be, for their own Sakes. Honeſt and open Deſigns, which will bear Light and Examination, are hurt and diſcredited by baſe and dark Expedients to bring them about: But, if you would perſuade a Man to be a Rogue, it is natural that Money ſhould be your firſt Argument; and therefore, whoever offers me a Bribe, does tacitly acknowledge that he thinks me a Knave.

Tacitus, taking Notice of the woful Decline of Virtue and Liberty, towards the End of the Republick, ſays, That the greateſt Villainies were committed with Impunity, and Ruin was the Price of Honeſty: *Deterrima quæque impune, ac multa honeſta exitio fuere.* And indeed, where Corruption and publick Crimes are not carefully oppoſed, and ſeverely puniſhed, neither Liberty nor Security can poſſibly ſubſiſt.

The immenſe Briberies practiſed by *Julius Cæſar*, were ſure and terrible Preſages of *Cæſar's* Tyranny. It is amazing what mighty Sums he gave away: *Caius Curio* alone, one of the Tribunes, was bought into his Intereſt, at no ſmaller a Price than Half a Million of our Money. Other Magiſtrates too had their Shares; and all were bribed, who would be bribed. We may eaſily

eaſily conceive how he came by ſuch Sums; he got them as wickedly as he gave them away. Nor can I call him generous in this vaſt Liberality; ſince he purchaſed the *Roman* Empire with its own Money, and gave away a Part to get the Whole.

Unjuſt and unfrugal Ways of throwing away Money, make wicked and violent Means neceſſary to get Money; and Rapine naturally follows Prodigality. They that waſte publick Money, ſeldom ſtop there, but go a wicked Step farther; and having firſt drained the People, at laſt oppreſs them. Publick Frauds are therefore very alarming, as they are very big with publick Ruin. What ſhall we ſay then of other Times, when publick Schemes have been concerted to confound all Property, to put common Honeſty out of Countenance, and baniſh it from amongſt Men; and when an Appetite for Power was only an Appetite for Miſchief? Dreadful ſure was the Proſpect! And yet this was the State of *Rome* in thoſe Days; as will be ſeen further before this Letter is ended.

Nor would it have been any Advantage or Security to *Rome*, though *Cæſar* and his Party had been leſs able Men than in truth they were: Having debauched the People, he did more by Corruption towards enſlaving them, than he did by his Parts, as great as they were. It is ſomewhere obſerved, that to do Good requires ſome Parts and Pains; but any Man may be a Rogue. *The World*, ſays the Proverb, *little knows what ſilly Fellows govern it.* Even the Difficulties of doing Good proceed from the Pravity of ſome Mens Nature, ever prone to do Evil; and ſo ſtrong is

that

that Pravity, that many Men frequently ſlight great Temptations to be honeſt, and embrace ſlight Temptations to be Knaves.

It is an Obſervation, which every body is capable of making, that a good Character loſt is hardly, if ever, recovered. Now the Reaſon of this is, not ſo much from the Malevolence of the World (often too ready to calumniate) as from the Inability of a Knave to become honeſt: He is, as it were, doomed to be one: The Biaſs of his Spirit is crooked; and if ever he act honeſtly, it is for a roguiſh Reaſon. I have known a Man, who, having wilfully loſt all Credit, rejected as wilfully all Opportunities to regain it, even when thrown into his Lap. He could not help earning freſh Deteſtation, with great Labour; when he might have acquired the higheſt Renown, with the greateſt Eaſe. From hence may be ſeen how dangerous it is ever to truſt a Man who has once been a Knave; and hence too may be learned, that from Men who have done eminent Miſchief, whether publick or private, greater ſtill is to be dreaded. Vice is a prolifick Thing, and Wickedneſs naturally begets Wickedneſs.

Olearius, giving an Account of *Muſcovy*, obſerves, that "the Great Duke's Court hath this "in common with thoſe of other Princes, that "Vice takes Place of Virtue, and gets nearer the "Throne. Thoſe who have the Honour to be "neareſt his Perſon, are withal more ſubtle, more "deceitful, and more inſolent, than the others "that have not. They know very well how to "make their Advantages of the Prince's Favour, "and look for the greateſt Reſpects and humbleſt "Submiſſions imaginable, from thoſe who make

"their

" their Addreſſes to them; which the others ren-
" der them, as much to avoid the Miſchief they
" might do to them, as for the Good they expect
" from them." This is the Character of a Court, where one is not much ſurprized nor troubled to find out Tyranny and Corruption in abundance: But one is at once amazed and affected with the mournful Account *Salluſt* gives us of the *Romans* in his Time; the *Romans*, who had been ſo virtuous a People, ſo great and ſo free!

The *Romans*, he ſays, were arrived to that Pitch of Corruption, that they gloried in Extravagancy and Rapine, and made Sarcaſms upon Virtue. Modeſty and a diſintereſted Mind paſſed with them only for Sloth and Cowardice. Thoſe that were in Power, neglecting Virtue, and conſpiring againſt Innocence, preferred only their own Creatures. *Innocentes circumveniunt, ſuos ad honorem tollunt:* Wicked Deeds, and an infamous Character, were no Bars to the poſſeſſing of Power; and thoſe that acted as if Rapine were their Employment, and Plunder the Perquiſites of their Place, were not thought unfit for freſh Preferments: *Non facinus, non probum, aut flagitium obſtat, quo minus Magiſtratus capiant: quod commodum eſt, trahunt, rapiunt.* At laſt, their Great Men had no Principle but Rapaciouſneſs, and obſerved no Law but their Luſt. The whole Commonwealth was become their Prey and their Pillage: *Poſtremo, tanquam urbe capta, libidine ac licentia ſua, pro legibus utuntur.*

The ſame Author ſays, That it would have leſſened his Concern, had he ſeen ſuch great Wickedneſs perpetrated by Men of great Qualities. But his Grief had not this Mitigation: For, ſays he,

he, wretched Creatures with little Souls, whoſe whole Genius lay in their Tongue, and whoſe utmoſt Talent and Ability was to prate glibly, exerciſed with Inſolence that Power which they had acquired by Chance, or by the Sloth of others. *At me quidem mediocris dolor angeret, ſi virtute partam victoriam more ſuo per ſervitium exercerent: Sed homines inertiſſimi quorum omnis vis virtuſque in lingua ſita eſt, forte, & alterius ſocordia, dominationem oblatam inſolentes agitant.* And for the *Roman* Nobility of that Time, he ſays, that, like ſtupid Statues, their Names and Titles were their only Ornaments: *Inertiſſimi nobiles, in quibus, ſicut in ſtatua, præter nomen, nihil eſt additamenti.* Salluſt. ad C. Cæſarem, de repub. ordinand.

We ſee what a Market theſe Men made of Power, and what a Degree of Degeneracy they introduced. The End of all was, the utter Loſs of Liberty, and a ſettled Tyranny.

G

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *May* 6, 1721. No. 28.

A Defence of CATO *againſt his Defamers.*

To CATO.

SIR,

SEE what it is to be conſpicuous! Your Honeſty, and the Truths which you tell, have drawn upon you much Envy, and many Lyes. You cannot be anſwered; therefore it is fit to abuſe

abuſe you. Had you kept groveling near the Earth, in Company with moſt other Weekly Writers, you might have lulled the Town aſleep as they do, with great Safety to your Perſon, and without any body's ſaying an unkind Word of you: But you have galloped away ſo faſt and ſo far before them, that it is no Wonder the poor Vermin, conſcious of their own Heavineſs and want of Speed, crawl after you and curſe you. — It is natural; human Sight is offended with Splendor: This is exemplified in a Man looking at the Sun; he makes all the while a World of wry Mouths and diſtorted Faces.

Conſider yourſelf, Sir, as the Sun to thoſe Authors, who behold you with Agonies, while they behold you with Admiration. Great Minds alone are pleaſed with the Excellencies of others, and vulgar Souls provoked by them. The Mob of Writers is like the Weavers Mob; all Levellers. This appears by their unmannerly and ſeditious Speeches concerning you, their Monarch. Strange Inſtance of Impudence and Ingratitude! They live upon you, and ſcold at you. Your Lot is the ſame with that of many other eminent Authors; you feed Vermin before you are dead.

Your Slanderers, as they are below even Contempt, ſo are they far below all Notice: But it is worth conſidering who ſet them at work; from whom they receive the Wages of Proſtitution; and what contradictory Things the poor Creatures are taught to ſay. Scarce a Paper appeared for a conſiderable Time together in which *Cato*'s Letters were not extolled; and thoſe who did it endeavoured, to the beſt of their Skill, to write after him: But finding that his Labours made theirs

uſeleſs,

uſeleſs, and that the recommending of publick Spirit was too mighty a Task for humble Hirelings, they ſuddenly, and without Ceremony, tack about, and, by calumniating *Cato*, make themſelves Lyars: Such Deference have they for their Cuſtomers, and for themſelves!

It is no Wonder, therefore, that the ſame worthy, but waggiſh Pens, repreſent him, with the ſame Breath, as an *abandoned Atheiſt*, and a *bigoted Presbyterian*; while others as plainly prove him a *flaming Jacobite*, and an *arrant Republican*; that is, one who is high for Monarchy, and one who is againſt all Monarchy. I could ſhew you theſe pretty Conſiſtencies in one and the ſame Paper.

Cato had deſcribed and ſhewed the horrid Effects of publick Confuſion, and contended for puniſhing the Authors of our own: Hence *Cato* is repreſented as *an Enemy to Government and Order, and a Promoter of Confuſion.*

Cato had beſtowed real and unfeigned Encomiums upon his Majeſty, and done all Juſtice to the Abilities and Honeſty of his Miniſters: Hence *Cato* is charged with *caſting Reproaches, and making Sarcaſms upon his Majeſty and his Miniſtry.*

Cato has writ againſt *Turkiſh*, *Aſiatick*, and all Sorts of Tyranny: Hence *Cato* is ſaid to be a *great Incendiary, and an open Enemy to our Conſtitution.*

Cato contends, that great Traytors ought to be hanged: Hence *Cato* is traduced, as if he *affronted the Miniſtry.*

Cato aſſerts, that the Good of Mankind is the End of Government: Hence *Cato* is for *deſtroying all Government.*

Cato lays down certain Rules for farther eſtabliſhing his Majeſty's Throne, and for enſuring to him

him for ever the Minds of his People: Therefore *Cato is a Jacobite.*

Cato has ſhewn at large the Bleſſings of a limited Monarchy, eſpecially of our own: Therefore *Cato is a Republican.*

Cato has ſhewn the Dreadfulneſs of popular Inſurrections and Fury; the Miſery of Civil Wars, the Uncertainty of their End: Therefore *Cato ſtirs up the People to Sedition and Rebellion.*

Cato laments, that great Criminals are ſeldom brought to the Gallows: Hence *Cato* is repreſented as one that *deſerves the Gallows.*

Cato, talking of *Turkey*, obſerves with Warmth and Concern, that the holy Name of God was belied, and Religion proſtituted, to bind down Wretchedneſs upon his Creatures, and to protect the Tyrant that does it: Therefore *Cato ſcurrilouſly reviles the Church of* England.

Cato has ſhewn the deſtructive Terrors of arbitrary Power, and how it had almoſt diſpeopled the Earth: In anſwer to this it is ſaid, that *Cato wears a dark Wig.*

Cato has complained, that this great Nation has been abuſed, cheated, and exhauſted; its Trade ruined; its Credit deſtroyed; its Manufactures diſcouraged, *&c.* and affirmed, that Vengeance is due to thoſe Traytors who have done it; that none but Traytors will protect Traytors; that publick Honeſty and publick Spirit ought to be encouraged, in Oppoſition to publick Corruption, Bribery, and Rapine; that there is Regard to be had to the Rights, Privileges, and Tempers of the People: That Standing Armies are dreadful Things; that a Military Government is violent and bloody: That they are the blackeſt Traytors, who would break

break the Confidence between a Prince and his Subjects: That Great Men mind chiefly the getting of Plumbs; and that honeſt Meaſures are the beſt Meaſures. To all which it is replied, That *Cato is a whimſical unreaſonable Man, who talks and expects ſtrange Things*; and, in fine, that *he dreams odd Dreams.*

By ſuch powerful Arguments is *Cato* anſwered; by ſuch pretty Arts decried. *He is really a great Criminal*; he aſſerts the Rights and Property of the People, and calls for Juſtice upon thoſe who would deſtroy them. *He is ſurely a Jacobite*, who would not let certain elevated Sages do what they would, and get what they pleaſed. I would ask, Whether the obliging, protecting, and avenging, the injured People, be likely Ways to bring in the *Pretender?* Yet theſe are the Ways which *Cato* contends for. Or, Whether the deceiving, loading, and ſqueezing of the harmleſs People, be natural Ways to make and keep them well affected? Yet theſe are the Ways which *Cato* condemns and expoſes.

Being detached from all Parties, eminently guiltleſs of all perſonal Views of his own, and going upon Principles certainly true in themſelves, certainly beneficent to human Society; it is no Wonder that he is read and approved by every intelligent Man in *England*, except the Guilty, their Screens, Hirelings, and Adherents. What he writes, the People feel to be true. If Men can be great Knaves, in ſpite of Oppoſition; how much greater would they be, if there were none? And if Juſtice be oppoſed, openly, ſhameleſly, and violently oppoſed, in ſpite of her Champions and Defenders; ſhe muſt certainly be deſtroyed, if ſhe had

had none. It is a diſmal Reflexion, that Juſtice muſt ſometimes be fought for Inch by Inch, before it can be obtained, and at laſt is not half obtained; and that the higher and blacker the Villainy is, the greater is the Security. I hope that this will never be our Caſe; but I could name many a Country whoſe Caſe it has been.

I am not ſurprized that certain tall Traytors are very angry with *Cato*. *Good now hold your Tongue*, ſaid a Quack to his complaining Patient, under Agonies into which he had been caſt by the Doctor's infallible Specifick: *Good now hold your Tongue, and be eaſy*; — *leave the Matter to me, and the Matter will go well:* That is, Lie ſtill and die, and I will warrant you. Great Grief and Diſtreſs will have Utterance, in ſpite of Art or Terror.

On *Aſcenſion-Day*, when the Doge of *Venice* weds the Sea with a Ring, the Admiral, who conducts the Bucentauro, or Veſſel in which that Ceremony is performed, does a bold Thing: He pawns his Head to the Senate, to enſure them againſt the Danger and Effects of Tempeſts and Storms. But the Thing would ſtill be bolder, if he had firſt wilfully raiſed a Storm, or bored a Hole in the Veſſel.

I appeal to the Senſe of the Nation, daily uttered in their Addreſſes to the Parliament for Relief and Vengeance, whether *Cato*'s Sentiments be not the ſame with theirs; I appeal to the Sufferings, the heavy, melancholy Sufferings of the People, whether either *Cato* or they ſpeak thus without Grounds.

The Grounds are too viſible, and their Allegations too true. — Hence the Rage of Guilt, which is

is more galled by Truth, than Innocence is hurt by Lyes: And hence I have heard it obſerved, concerning a Set of Worthies, that they do not care what Falſhoods you publiſh concerning them, but will never forgive you if you meddle with Facts.

For certain Gentlemen to find fault with *Cato's* Letters, is to avow their own Shame. Why was there Occaſion given for thoſe Letters? Some other Queſtions might be asked too, which would diſcover freſh Blackneſs in theſe Betrayers, were they not already all over black. Who is it that might have checked, and yet did not check, rampant Rogues laſt Summer? And from what Motives proceeded ſuch Omiſſion? Who is it that openly ſcreens open Guilt? Who is it that conceals the Evidence of Guilt? Who is it that brow-beats the Purſuers of Guilt? Who is it that throws Obſtacles in the Parliament's Way? Who is it that lengthens out the Proceſs? Who is it that ſtrives to defeat the Enquiry? Who is it that makes Malecontents, and then reproaches them for being ſo?

In vain they fall upon *Cato*, with lying Reproaches, falſe Pictures, and ugly Names: Their Conduct bewrays them; by making him of every Party, they ſhew him to be of none; as he has ſhewed himſelf to be of none. I thought it, however, not amiſs, thus, once for all, to make his Apology, and to ſhew what are his Crimes, and who his Enemies. His great Guilt is, that he will not ſpare Guilt; and the great Objection to his Writings is, that they cannot be anſwered. Let the Reader judge whether I have miſrepreſented him

him or his Foes, who are no other than the late Directors, their Friends, and Confederates.

As to the poor Weekly Journeymen of the Preſs, whoſe Principle is the ready Penny, and who, for a Morſel, defile Paper, and blot Reputations without hurting them, they deſerve no Reſentment. It is their Profeſſion to do what they are bid, when they are paid for it. A Church is not the leſs ſacred, becauſe Curs frequently lift up their Leg againſt it, and affront the Wall: It is the Nature of Dogs. They therefore are and ought to be pitied and overlooked; the Buſineſs of this Letter to you being to expoſe the falſe and unjuſt Cenſures of ſome, who bear a greater Figure than ſuch harmleſs Weekly Writers, without poſſeſſing more Honeſty.

The Conjectures of theſe Creatures about the Perſon of *Cato* afford Matter of Mirth. They will needs know him, right or wrong. Let them gueſs on; whatever they gueſs, I will venture to pronounce them Lyars, though they ſhould gueſs truly: ſince without being able to do any thing more than gueſs, they yet go on to affirm; which no honeſt Man would do without competent Evidence. I am,

G *SIR*,

Your Humble Servant,

PORTIUS.

SATURDAY, *May* 13, 1721. No. 29.

Reflexions occaſioned by an Order of Council for ſuppreſſing certain impious Clubs that were never diſcovered.

SIR,

I Would willingly propagate and preſerve the following Order of Council, as a Monument of his Majeſty's great Zeal for Virtue and Religion. It is publiſhed in the *Gazette* of the 29th of *April*, in the following Words:

At the Court of St. *James's*, the 28th Day of *April*, 1721.

PRESENT,

The King's moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

" HIS Majeſty having received Information, " which gives great Reaſon to ſuſpect, that " there have lately been, and ſtill are, in and " about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, " certain ſcandalous Clubs or Societies of young " Perſons, who meet together, and, in the moſt " impious and blaſphemous Manner, inſult the " moſt ſacred Principles of our Holy Religion, " affront Almighty God himſelf, and corrupt the " Minds and Morals of one another; and being " reſolved to make uſe of all the Authority com- " mitted to him by Almighty God, to puniſh " ſuch

ſuch enormous Offenders, and to cruſh ſuch ſhocking Impieties before they encreaſe and draw down the Vengeance of God upon this Nation: His Majeſty has thought fit to command the Lord Chancellor, and his Lordſhip is hereby required, to call together his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace of *Middleſex* and *Weſtminſter*, and ſtrictly to enjoin them, in the moſt effectual Manner, that they, and every of them, do make the moſt diligent and careful Enquiry and Search for the Diſcovery of any thing of this and the like Sort, tending in any wiſe to the Corruption of the Principles and Manners of Men; and to lay before his Lordſhip ſuch Diſcoveries as from Time to Time may be made, to the End that all proper Methods may be taken for the utter Suppreſſion of all ſuch deteſtable Practices. His Lordſhip is further directed to urge them to the due Execution of their Office, in detecting and proſecuting, with Vigour, all Profaneneſs, Immorality, and Debauchery, as they value the Bleſſing of Almighty God, as they regard the Happineſs of their Country, which cannot ſubſiſt, if Things ſacred and virtuous are trampled upon, and as they tender his Majeſty's Favour, to which they cannot recommend themſelves more effectually, than by ſhewing the utmoſt Zeal upon ſo important an Occaſion; to which End his Lordſhip is to acquaint them, that as his Majeſty for himſelf has nothing more at Heart than to regard the Honour of God, ſo impiouſly ſtruck at, and is determined to ſhew all Marks of Diſpleaſure and Diſcouragement to any who may lie even under the Suſpicion of ſuch Practi-

" ces; ſo he ſhall always account it the greateſt " and moſt ſubſtantial Service they can do to his " Majeſty or his Government, to exert them- " ſelves in diſcovering any who are guilty of ſuch " Impieties, that they may be openly proſecuted, " and puniſhed with the utmoſt Severity and " moſt publick Ignominy which the Laws of the " Land can inflict.

EDWARD SOUTHWELL.

To this it is added, in the ſame *Gazette*, That " his Majeſty has been pleaſed to give Orders to " the Principal Officers of his Houſhold, to make " ſtrict and diligent Enquiry, whether any of " his Majeſty's Servants are guilty of the horrid " Impieties mentioned in the Order of Council " inſerted above, and to make a Report thereof to " his Majeſty.

Theſe Societies muſt certainly be as diſtracted as they are impious. I have indeed been in doubt till now, whether there really were any ſuch; but I am in no doubt about the Puniſhment which they deſerve: I think that it ought to be the moſt ſevere that is due to ſuch raving Wickedneſs, which is ſuch, as neither Youth nor Wine can excuſe, nor indeed extenuate; and till they are further puniſhed, I think that the darkeſt Holes in *Bedlam* ought to be their Portion. But outrageous and godleſs as they are, they do not merit more Deteſtation and Severity, than do thoſe who inhumanly give out, that Gentlemen who abhor ſuch Clubs are Members of them: The Authors of ſo dreadful a Calumny are much worſe than Murderers; becauſe they endeavour to take away from Men ſomething much dearer than Life.

They

They are therefore in the Claſs with Dæmons, and earn ſuch mighty Vengeance as God only can inflict.

The above Order of Council is very juſt and religious, and of excellent Uſe and Example: So much Zeal cannot ſtop at a Club or two of pernicious, though private Sinners; but doubtleſs extends to other Criminals, more publick and conſiderable, and even more deſtructive. The greateſt Part of the Wickedneſs done by thoſe thoughtleſs young Wretches, is done to themſelves, and like to remain with them; there being little Probability that they will ever make many Proſelytes to their aſtoniſhing Frenzies: Whereas the other great Criminals, for the ſole Sake of doing Good to themſelves, have undone almoſt every Man in *England*, with *England* itſelf into the Bargain. They ſet Three Nations to ſale; and themſelves fixing the Price, were themſelves the Buyers: They purchaſed our Happineſs, and paid us in Want and Sorrow. Every good Man is proof againſt the Contagion of Profaneneſs; but Virtue and Goodneſs ſtood us in no ſtead againſt our Money-Monſters, who, having robbed all honeſt Men, made a Jeſt of Honeſty itſelf. Can there be greater Evils under the Sun, than rampant Plunderers, abandoned Corruption, and devouring Calamity? Or are there any other Evils which theſe do not produce?

We therefore take it for granted, That *as his Majeſty is determined to ſhew all Marks of Diſpleaſure and Diſcouragement to any who may even lie under the Suſpicion of ſuch* deſtructive *Practices; ſo he will always account it the moſt ſubſtantial Service that* we

can do to him *and his Government, to exert* ourſelves *in diſcovering any who are guilty of ſuch* unparalleled Frauds, ſuch *National Wickedneſs; that they may be openly proſecuted, and puniſhed with the utmoſt Severity, and moſt publick Ignominy, that the* Legiſlature *can inflict.*

And, as "his Majeſty has been pleaſed to give "Orders to the Principal Officers of his Houſe-"hold, to make ſtrict and diligent Enquiry, whe-"ther any of his Majeſty's Servants are guilty of "the horrid Impieties mentioned in the Order of "Council inſerted above, and to make Report "thereof to his Majeſty:" So we may aſſure ourſelves, that the ſame ſevere Enquiry has been already made, whether any of thoſe in Truſt under his Majeſty, or about his Perſon, have ſtained their Hands, diſhonoured their Maſter, and provoked Almighty God, by promoting or embarking in any of the horrid and ſpreading Miſchiefs practiſed laſt Year by the late *South-Sea* Directors, and their Confederates.

An Enquiry into Religion, and the private Morals of Men, is not inconſiſtent with an Enquiry into Civil and Publick Villainies; nor can the former ever prove a Bone of Contention to divert the latter, whatever the Wicked and the Guilty may hope, and the Honeſt and Diſtreſſed may apprehend. Freſh Objects of Horror and Averſion cannot leſſen our general Deteſtation for thoſe who ought to be beyond all others deteſted. While we purſue Wolves and Tygers, and the mightier Beaſts of Prey, who, if they be not deſtroyed, will continue to deſtroy, we are not to be diverted by the Scent of a Fox or Badger, though they may annoy

annoy a private Neighbourhood, and diſpeople Hen-Rooſts.

Our publick Virtue is the beſt and ſureſt Proof that we can give of our private Piety: Piety and Juſtice are inſeparable; and Prayers ſaid Ten times a Day, will not atone for a Murder or a Robbery committed once a Month: Appearances go for nothing, when Facts contradict them. The readieſt Way therefore to ſhew that our Hearts are pure, is to ſhew that our Hands are clean, and that we will puniſh thoſe that have foul ones.

Here is a Teſt of our Virtue and Innocence!

Let us hang up publick Rogues, as well as puniſh private Blaſphemers. The Obſervance of Religion, and the Neglect of Juſtice, are Contradictions. Let any Man ask himſelf, Whether a Nation is more hurt by a few giddy, unthinking, young Wretches, talking madly in their Drink; or by open, deliberate, and publick Depredations committed by a Junto of veteran Knaves, who add to the Injury, and to their own Guilt, by a Shew of Gravity, and a canting Pretence to Religion? The late Directors all pretended to be good Chriſtians. I would ask one Queſtion more; namely, Whether it had not been better for *England*, that the late Directors, and their Maſters, had ſpent their Nights and their Days in the *Hell-Fire-Club*, than in contriving and executing execrable Schemes, to ruin *England?* Pray, which of the Two is your greater Enemy, he who robs you of all that you have, but neither curſes nor ſwears at you; or he who only curſes you or himſelf, and takes nothing from you?

Where Juſtice is exactly obſerved, Religion will be obſerved; and to pretend to be very ſtrict about

the Latter, without minding the Former, would be highly abſurd and ridiculous. Virtue neceſſarily produces Religion, and is itſelf Religion; and Profaneneſs and Irreligion will ever and neceſſarily follow Corruption, the prolifick Parent of numberleſs Miſchiefs.

Private Profaneneſs is not therefore half ſo terrible to human Society, as publick Roguery and publick Robbery. The Happineſs of Mankind is ſurely the Cauſe of God; and whenever I hear of Arrets and Edicts made by Popiſh and Tyrannical Foreign Princes, in Favour of Religion; I conſider them as ſo many Mockeries of God, whoſe Creatures they, at the ſame Time, grind and deſtroy. As conſiſtently might they pretend great Zeal for obſerving religiouſly the Sixth Command, and yet murder by War and Famine Ten Thouſand of their Subjects a Week.

James Naylor was ſeverely puniſhed for Blaſphemy; Is there any Compariſon, as to their Effects, between the Crime of *James Naylor*, and the Crimes of the late Directors, their Seconds, and Abettors? *James Naylor* (being himſelf deluded) miſled a few ignorant People, whoſe Error was their greateſt Crime: But our modern Impoſtors, our *South-Sea* Deceivers, have actually and wilfully plundered their Country of near Thirty Millions of Money, and involved it in univerſal Confuſion and Want.

It is therefore a ſenſible Pleaſure to us, to behold his Majeſty and his Miniſtry engaged with ſo much Zeal in vindicating our Property, as well as our Religion. His Majeſty, in particular, has condeſcended, with unparalleled, I am ſure uncommon, Goodneſs, to tell the Lord Mayor and Court of

of Aldermen, that *he has no Share in the late wicked Management.* This is a Piece of Royal Grace, with which, I believe, never any Subjects were bleſſed before. From hence we may draw a freſh Aſſurance of his Majeſty's Alacrity and Readineſs to puniſh the execrable Authors of that wicked Management, who are alſo the greateſt Enemies to his Crown and Dignity.

" His Majeſty being reſolved to make uſe of all " the Authority committed to him by Almighty " God, to puniſh ſuch enormous Offenders, and " to cruſh ſuch ſhocking Impieties, before they " encreaſe and draw down the Vengeance of God " upon this Nation:" I ſay, his Majeſty being thus zealous for Religion and the Nation, will never ſuffer the Authors of the greateſt Evil, the higheſt Villainy ever committed in this Nation, to eſcape unpuniſhed. Has ever a heavier Judgment befallen our Nation, than the laſt Year's mercileſs Rapine? And can there be greater Enemies to God and Man, than the Authors of it? Monſters who were for plucking up all Virtue and all Property by the Roots. Oh, that their Succeſs had not encreaſed their Guilt! They acted as if they did not believe that there was a God who judged the World, and as if they defied all human Tribunals, as well as the Divine. Theſe are the Atheiſts terrible to Society; this is the Atheiſm wofully and univerſally felt. Deſolation and Miſery are the Occupation and Sport of Devils, and they their Vicegerents who promote them.

He who talks profanely of Things ſacred, is a wicked Man, and as ill bred as he is wicked: But he who wantonly fills a Country, a glorious and happy Country, with Want, Woe, and Sorrow;

what Name, what Torture, what Death, does he not deſerve? He is a Deſtroyer-General: —— He is a mad Dog, with Ten Thouſand Mouths, who ſcatters Poiſon, Wounds, and Death all around him.

I ſhall conclude in the ſtrong Words of the above Order of Council; namely, That as we *value the Bleſſing of Almighty God, as we regard the Happineſs of our Country, which cannot ſubſiſt, if Things ſacred and virtuous* (and ſuch are private Property, publick Faith, and publick Juſtice) *are trampled upon; and as* we *tender his Majeſty's Favour, to which we cannot recommend* ourſelves *more effectually, than by ſhewing the utmoſt Zeal upon ſo important an Occaſion:* I ſay, as we value all theſe, let us be warm, bold, and active in the Diſcovery and Puniſhment of *ſuch enormous Offenders; and to cruſh ſuch ſhocking Miſchiefs, before they encreaſe and draw down the Vengeance of God upon this Nation.*

G

I am, &c.

P. S. I, who hate to ſee the Puniſhment of any Sort of great Wickedneſs linger, do here propoſe an Expedient to come at a Certainty about the blaſphemous Clubs (*): Let a Reward be publickly offered for the Diſcovery of any of their Members, to be paid upon their legal Conviction; and, in the mean time, let us not caſt random Reproaches upon particular Men; leſt, by falling upon the Innocent, they return double upon ourſelves. It is baſe and diſhoneſt to feign Crimes

(*) Upon the ſtricteſt Enquiry, it could not be diſcovered that any ſuch Clubs ever exiſted, except in common Fame and the above Order of Council.

that

that are not; and where they really are, it is barbarous and diabolical to father them upon the Guiltleſs: He who charges upon another a Crime that deſerves the Gallows, does, if it prove falſe, pronounce Sentence againſt himſelf, and proclaim his own Right to *Tyburn:* As, on the other hand, he who ſkreens from the Gallows thoſe that deſerve it, adopts their Title to the Halter, and ought to ſwing in their room.

Can there be greater Juſtice and Impartiality than this? And I aſſure you, Sir, I heartily wiſh that they may take place.

SATURDAY, *May* 20, 1721. No. 30.

An excellent Letter from Brutus *to* Atticus; *with an explanatory Introduction.*

SIR,

I Send you another excellent Letter of the great *Brutus.* They who ſay that I forged the laſt, make me as great a Compliment as ever was made to Man; ſince whoever could write that Letter, is, without reflecting on my Cotemporaries, certainly the greateſt Man of the Age.

To the former Letter I gave you an hiſtorical Introduction; I ſhall give you another to this, and own myſelf obliged for it to Monſieur *Soreau.*

Brutus and *Caſſius,* after the Death of *Cæſar,* having left *Rome, Octavius, Cæſar's* Nephew, arrived there: He was no more than Nineteen Years old; and the firſt Thing of Note that happened to him, was a Quarrel with *Mark Anthony,* who treated

treated him like a Child, with Contempt, and indeed was grown inſupportable to all the World. *Cicero* and *Anthony* being then declared Enemies, *Octavius* was perſuaded by his Friends to throw himſelf into the Arms of *Cicero*. Hence began their Friendſhip, equally deſireable to both: *Cicero* governed the Senate, and *Octavius* had the Hearts of his Uncle's Soldiers, with great Treaſure to gain new Friends, and carry on new Deſigns. *Mark Anthony* was the common Enemy of both, and of the Republick, which he as outrageouſly attacked, as *Cicero* warmly defended.

This Quarrel gave Occaſion to thoſe Orations of *Cicero*, called *Philippicks*; which are eternal Monuments of his Love for his Country, as well as of the marvellous Eloquence of that Great Man.

Cicero and *Octavius* ſucceeded; they got the better of *Mark Anthony*, and drove him out of *Rome*. But, by his Intereſt and Activity, he ſoon gathered ſuch a Force, as he thought ſufficient to make himſelf Maſter of *Rome*; which therefore he prepared to attack and poſſeſs by downright Violence. But *Octavius* having levied, at his own Expence, an Army, compoſed moſtly of the veteran Troops of *Cæſar*, oppoſed the March of *Anthony*, and diverted that dreadful Storm from the City. *Cicero*, who had undertaken the Defence of *Octavius* from his firſt Arrival at *Rome*, and laboured to fortify his Cauſe by the Authority of the Senate, was not wanting to extol this firſt Service of *Octavius* for the Republick. Hence extraordinary Honours were decreed him; that he ſhould be made Proprætor, and in that Quality Commander of the Army; that a Recompence ſhould be given

to

to his Troops; that he ſhould be received into the Number of the Senators; that he might, before he came of Age, demand all the other greateſt Dignities of the Commonwealth; and even that a Statue ſhould be erected to him.

In the mean time *Anthony*, thus repulſed by *Octavius*, marched into the *Ciſalpine Gaul*, to drive from thence *Decimus Brutus*, its Governor, a Kinſman of our *Brutus*, and one of the *Tyrannicides*. That Governor, being unprovided of Forces ſufficient to fight *Anthony*, retired into the City of *Modena*, a *Roman* Colony; and there ſhutting himſelf up, expected Succours from the Senate. *Anthony* in the interim lays Siege to the Place, in hopes that being once Maſter of that City, he would ſoon be ſo of *Gaul*, and afterwards be enabled to return into *Italy*, with a Power ſufficient to conquer *Rome*, where he meant to erect a Dominion as abſolute as was that of *Cæſar*.

That Siege occaſioned freſh Meetings of the Senate; where, in fine, *Mark Anthony* was declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth; and both the Conſuls, *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, were ſent with an Army to relieve *Decimus Brutus*: With the Conſuls, *Octavius* was likewiſe ſent.

During all theſe Tranſactions, our *Brutus* and *Caſſius* having ſtaid ſome time in *Italy*, after their leaving *Rome*, were now retired to their Governments, *Brutus* to *Macedonia*, and *Caſſius* to *Syria*; and both were levying Men, and forming Armies, for the Defence of the Commonwealth.

As to *Cicero*, he was now in the Zenith of Power, and governed all Things at *Rome*: He particularly preſided in the Senate, as the moſt ancent Conſular, during the Abſence of the Two Conſuls,

Conſuls. In this Situation he was wonderfully curious to know what was the Opinion of *Brutus* concerning himſelf and his Adminiſtration. It is certain that *Brutus* had his higheſt Eſteem; and he thought that if he could procure the Eſteem of *Brutus*, it would be an eminent Proof of his own Virtue and Merit, as well as the moſt glorious Reward of that Virtue and Merit. *Brutus* had, in all his Letters, been very ſilent with him upon this Head. *Cicero* therefore makes uſe of *Atticus*, their common Friend, to ſift *Brutus*, and know his Sentiments. As ſoon, therefore, as it was known at *Rome*, that the Siege of *Modena* was raiſed, and *Anthony* defeated by the Two Conſuls and *Octavius*, *Atticus* diſpatched the News to *Brutus*, and in his Letter ſounded him about his Thoughts of *Cicero*.

The following Letter is a frank and open Anſwer to that of *Atticus*. In it he juſtly condemns *Cicero*'s over violent Hatred to *Mark Anthony*, which betrayed him into as unreaſonable an Affection and Deference for *Octavius*, his Champion againſt *Anthony*. *Cicero* ſaw his Error at laſt, but ſaw it too late; the Power and Credit to which he had raiſed *Octavius*, coſt him his Life, and *Rome* her Liberty. *Cicero*, who was the Author of all the Greatneſs and Authority of *Octavius*, was by *Octavius* given up to the Rage and Sword of *Mark Anthony*, againſt whom *Octavius* had been generouſly defended and ſupported by *Cicero*: And *Octavius* enſlaved the Commonwealth with thoſe very Arms, which the Commonwealth had truſted with him for her Protection. So early had the pious *Auguſtus* learned the Arts and Gratitude of an Abſolute Monarch!

I am, &c.

BRUTUS

BRUTUS to *ATTICUS.*

" YOU tell me, that *Cicero* wonders why, in " any of my Letters, I have never diſcovered " to him my Sentiments concerning his Manage- " ment and Adminiſtration at *Rome*; I therefore " diſcover thoſe Sentiments to you, ſince you are " ſo earneſt to know them.

" I know well the Sincerity and great Uprightneſs of *Cicero*'s Intentions: His Paſſion for the " Good of the Commonwealth is indeed evident " and remarkable. But prudent and wiſe as he " is, he has given Proofs of a Zeal which is imprudent, and a Heart that is vain: I leave it to " you to judge, which of theſe ſwayed him, " when, more forward than well adviſed, he drew " upon himſelf the Hatred of ſo terrible a Foe as " *Mark Anthony*. This he meant for the Good " of the Commonwealth; but it has had a contrary Effect, ſince by it, inſtead of bridling, as " he propoſed, the dangerous Power of *Octavius*, " he has further animated his Ambition, and raiſed " his Aims. Beſides, ſuch is the fatal Complaiſance of *Cicero* for that Man, that he cannot " help ſpeaking of myſelf and the Patriots of my " Country, with ſevere and bitter Language; " which, however, returns double upon himſelf: " If we have put one Man to Death, he has put " many. We killed *Cæſar*, and he the Aſſociates " of *Catiline*. If therefore *Caſca*, who gave *Cæſar* the firſt Blow, be a Murderer, as *Cicero*, " to pleaſe *Octavius*, calls him; *Cicero* himſelf is " one, and muſt confeſs himſelf one, and his " great Enemy *Baſtia* is juſtified in calling him " ſo.

" How!

" How! becauſe we have not the Ides of " *March*, in which we diſpatched *Cæſar*, eter- " nally in our Mouths, as *Cicero* has the Nones " of *December*, in which he ſuppreſſed the Con- " ſpiracy of *Catiline*, and which he is for ever " celebrating upon all Occaſions; does he take " Advantage of our Modeſty and his own Vanity, " and find from hence more Reaſon to blame a " glorius Deed done by us for Mankind, than " *Clodius* and *Beſtia* had to condemn, as they al- " ways did, his own ſevere Conduct when he was " Conſul?

" *Cicero* every where boaſts, that he ſuſtained " the War againſt *Anthony*; yet no body ever ſaw " *Cicero* out of a Gown, and Words were his " Weapons. But let it be ſo, that he has de- " feated *Anthony*; where is the Victory, if, curing " one Miſchief, it introduce a worſe? And what " avails it to have extinguiſhed the Tyrany of " *Anthony*, if he who has done it erect another in " its room more terrible, by being more durable? " And yet thus it will be if we ſuffer it. Theſe " are Articles in the Conduct of *Cicero*, which " ſhew that it is not the Tyrant nor the Tyranny " that he fears; but it is only *Anthony* that he " fears. If a Man will have a Tyrant, it is all " one to me, whether he be more or leſs outrage- " ous; it is the Thing, it is the having a Tyrant, " which I dread.

" That *Cicero* is haſtening to ſet up a Tyrant, " is plain, from Actions as viſible as ſad. *Octavius* " is all in all; a Triumph is decreed him; his " Troops have Largeſſes given them; he is loaded " with Flatteries, he is covered with Honours. " What Shame for *Cicero*, to behold all this, and

" his

" his own abject Poſture! His publick Behaviour,
" and the Speeches and Motions which he makes
" in the Senate, all centering in his Maſter; are
" they not a Scandal to the great Figure of that
" great Conſular, and a Stain upon the renowned
" Name of *Cicero?*

" You will read this with Pain, as with Pain I
" write it; but it is a Task which you have put
" upon me. Beſides, I know your Thoughts of
" our publick Affairs, and that deſperate and ex-
" traordinary as they are, you think that, con-
" trary to all Appearance, they may be remedied
" by Means that are ordinary. I do not however
" blame you, my dear *Atticus*; comfort yourſelf
" with Hope; it is agreeable to your Age, to the
" Sweetneſs of your Temper, and to your Re-
" gard for your Children: I do not therefore
" wonder that you are indolent and ſanguine;
" which Diſpoſition of yours appears ſtill farther
" to me, from the Account which my Friend
" *Flavius* gave me of what paſſed between you
" and him.

" But to return to *Cicero*; Pray where is the
" Difference between him and the ſervile *Salvi-*
" *denus?* Could that baſe Retainer to *Octavius's*
" ſtruggle for the Glory of his Maſter with more
" Labour and Zeal than does *Cicero?* You will
" ſay, perhaps, that *Cicero* dreads ſtill the Remains
" of the Civil War. This is wild: Can any one
" dread a beaten Enemy, and yet apprehend no-
" thing from the formidable Power of one who
" commands a great Army, elevated by Victory?
" nor from the Raſhneſs of a young Man, who
" may conquer the Commonwealth by the Means
" which enabled him to conquer for it? Does

" *Cicero*

" *Cicero* therefore make this mighty Court to " *Octavius*, becauſe, having given him ſo much, " he thinks it dangerous not to give him all! Oh " the wretched Folly of Cowardice! thus to leſſen " your own Security by conſulting it; and to en- " creaſe Tyranny becauſe you fear it! Is it not " better to have nothing at all to fear, than thus " to compound for the Degrees of Fear?

" The Truth is, we too much dread Poverty, " Baniſhment, and Death; and our Imagination " ſwells their Terrors beyond Bounds. There " are greater Evils than thoſe; and *Cicero* is " miſtaken if he think that there are not. And " yet all goes well with him, if he be but hu- " moured, if his Opinion be regarded, if his Suits " be granted; if he be courted and extolled: He " has no Quarrel to Servitude, provided it be ac- " companied with Honour and Luſtre; if there " can be any ſuch Thing as Honour and Luſtre " in this loweſt, this vileſt Lot of human Na- " ture.

" *Octavius* may indeed call him Father *Cicero*, " refer every Thing to his Counſel, ſooth him " with Praiſes, and ſhew great Gratitude and " Fondneſs towards him, while he loſes nothing " by all this, which is only a fair Outſide and " fine Words. Facts ſpeak the plaineſt Truth, " and they effectually contradict the above Ap- " pearances. For, can there be a greater Inſult " upon Common Senſe, than for *Octavius* to take " for a Father that Man who is no longer in the " Number of Freemen?

" Whither then tend all theſe Compliances, all " this Zeal of *Cicero* for *Octavius*? Why, only " to this; That *Octavius* may be propitious to

" *Cicero*,

" *Cicero.* In this little, worthleſs, ſhameful Point " center all the Actions and Deſigns of the Great " *Cicero!* Hence it is that I value no longer, in " the Perſon of *Cicero*, thoſe Arts and Accom- " pliſhments with which, doubtleſs, his Soul is " vaſtly repleniſhed. What is he the better, him- " ſelf, for ſo many excellent Precepts, ſo many " noble Diſcourſes, every where found in his " Works, concerning publick Liberty, true and " ſolid Glory, the Contempt of Death, Exile, " and Want? How much better does *Philippus* " underſtand all thoſe fine Rules laid down by " *Cicero*, than *Cicero* himſelf does, who pays more " Homage to *Octavius* than *Philippus*, who is " Father-in-Law to *Octavius*, pays?

" Let *Cicero* therefore ceaſe glorying thus vainly " in our Grief, which alſo ought to be his: For, " to repeat what I have already ſaid, What Ad- " vantage can we draw from a Victory, which " only tranſlates the pernicious Power of *Mark* " *Anthony* to a new Uſurper? And yet, by your " Letter, I perceive that it is ſtill a Doubt whe- " ther *Mark Anthony* be entirely defeated.

" After all, ſince *Cicero* can live a Dependent " and a Slave, let him live a Dependent and a " Slave. It ought not to be otherwiſe, if he can " thus ſhamefully forget his reverend Age, the il- " luſtrious Honours which he has borne, and the " memorable Parts which he has performed.

" For myſelf, while I live, I will make War " upon Tyranny; that is, upon all exorbitant " Power that lifts Men above the Laws: Nor " can any Condition of Servitude, however ad- " vantageous and alluring, divert me from this " great, this worthy Purpoſe: Nor could *Anthony*

" ſhake

" ſhake it, though he really were, what you ſay " he is, a Man of Worth; a Character which " contradicts my conſtant Opinion of him. The " Judgment and Spirit of our Anceſtors are mine; " they would not have their Father for their Ty- " rant, nor would I.

" All this Openneſs to you is the Reſult of my " Affection for you; nor could I have ſaid ſo " much, had I not loved you as well as *Cicero* " thinks he is beloved by *Octavius*. That all " theſe ſad Truths affect not you ſo much as they " do me, is my Concern; eſpecially ſince to an " eminent Fondneſs for all your Friends, you have " added a particular Fondneſs for *Cicero*. As to " myſelf, I beg you to believe that my Affection " for him is ſtill the ſame, though my Eſteem of " him is greatly abated: Nor can I help it, it " being impoſſible to judge ill or well of Men and " Things, but according as they appear ill or " well.

G

SATURDAY, *May* 27, 1721. No. 31.

Conſiderations on the Weakneſs and Inconſiſtencies of human Nature.

SIR,

THE Study of human Nature has, ever ſince I could ſtudy any thing, been a principal Pleaſure and Employment of mine; a Study as uſeful, as the Diſcoveries made by it are for the moſt part melancholy. It cannot but be irkſome to a good-natured Man, to find that there is nothing ſo terrible or miſchievous, but human Nature is capable of it; and yet he who knows little of human Nature, will never know much of the Affairs of the World, which every where derive their Motion and Situation from the Humours and Paſſions of Men.

It ſhews the violent Bent of human Nature to Evil, that even the Chriſtian Religion has not been able to tame the reſtleſs Appetites of Men, always puſhing them into Enormities and Violences, in direct Oppoſition to the Spirit and Declarations of the Goſpel, which commands us to *do unto all Men what we would have all Men do unto us.* The general Practice of the World is an open Contradiction and Contempt of this excellent, this divine Rule; which alone, were it obſerved, would reſtore Honeſty and Happineſs to Mankind, who, in their preſent State of Corruption, are for ever dealing treacherouſly or outrageouſly with one another, out of an ill-judging Fondneſs for themſelves.

Nay,

Nay, the peaceable, the beneficent, the forgiving Chriſtian Religion, is made the Cauſe of perpetual Hatred, Animoſity, Quarrels, Violence, Devaſtation, and Oppreſſion; and the Apoſtles, in ſpite of all their Poverty, Diſintereſtedneſs, and Love of Mankind, are made to juſtify their pretended Succeſſors of the Church of *Rome*, in engroſſing to themſelves the Wealth and Power of the Earth; and in bringing Mankind under a Yoke of Servitude, more terrible, more expenſive, and more ſevere, than all the Arts and Deluſions of Paganiſm could ever bring them under: Of ſo much more Force with the corrupt World are the deſtructive Villainies and Falſifications of Men, than the benevolent and heavenly Precepts of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Truth is, and it is a melancholy Truth, That where human Laws do not tie Mens Hands from Wickedneſs, Religion too ſeldom does; and the moſt certain Security which we have againſt Violence, is the Security of the Laws. Hence it is, that the making of Laws ſuppoſes all Men naturally wicked; and the ſureſt Mark of Virtue is, the Obſervation of Laws that are virtuous: If therefore we would look for Virtue in a Nation, we muſt look for it in the Nature of Government; the Name and Model of their Religion being no certain Symptom nor Cauſe of their Virtue. The *Italians* profeſs the Chriſtian Religion, and the *Turks* are all Infidels; Are the *Italians* therefore more virtuous than the *Turks?* I believe no body will ſay that they are; at leaſt thoſe of them that live under Abſolute Princes: On the contrary, it is certain, that as the Subjects of the Great *Turk* are

are not more miſerable than thoſe of the *Pope*, ſo neither are they more wicked.

Of all the Paſſions which belong to human Nature, *Leſf-love* is the ſtrongeſt, and the Root of all the reſt; or, rather, all the different Paſſions are only ſeveral Names for the ſeveral Operations of Self-love. *Self-love*, ſays the Duke of *Rochefoucault*, *is the Love of one's ſelf, and of every Thing elſe for one's own Sake: It makes a Man the Idolater of himſelf, and the Tyrant of others.* He obſerves, that Man is a Mixture of Contrarieties; imperious and ſupple, ſincere and falſe, fearful and bold, merciful and cruel: He can ſacrifice every Pleaſure to the getting of Riches, and all his Riches to a Pleaſure: He is fond of his Preſervation, and yet ſometimes eager after his own Deſtruction: He can flatter thoſe whom he hates, deſtroy thoſe whom he loves.

This is a Picture of Mankind; and they who ſay it is a falſe one, ought to ſhew that they deſerve a better. I have ſometimes thought, that it was ſcarce poſſible to aſſert any thing concerning Mankind, be it ever ſo good, or ever ſo evil, but it will prove true. They are naturally innocent, yet fall naturally into the Practice of Vice; the greateſt Inſtances of Virtue and Villainy are to be found in one and the ſame Perſon; and perhaps one and the ſame Motive produces both. The Obſervance or Non-obſervance of a few frivolous Cuſtoms ſhall unite them in ſtrict Friendſhip and Confederacy, or ſet them a cutting one another's Throats.

They never regard one another as Men and rational Beings, and upon the Foot of their common Humanity; but are cemented or divided by the

the Force of Words and Habits. —— Conſiderations that are a Diſgrace to Reaſon! The not being born in the ſame Climate, or on this Side ſuch a River, or ſuch a Mountain, or the not wearing the like Garments, or uttering the like Sounds, or having the ſame Thoughts or Taſte, are all ſo many Cauſes of intenſe Hatred, ſometimes of mortal War. Whatever Men think or do, eſpecially if they have found a good Name for it, be it ever ſo fooliſh or bad, is wiſeſt and beſt in their own Eyes: But this is not all; we will needs be plaguing our Neighbours, if they do not quit upon our Authority their own Thoughts and Practices for ours.

It fills me with Concern, when I conſider how Men uſe one another; and how wretchedly their Paſſions are employed: They ſcarce ever have proper Objects for their Paſſions; they will hate a Man for what he cannot help, and what does them no Harm; yet bleſs and pray for Villains, that kill and oppreſs them. There never was ſuch a dreadful Tribunal under the Sun as the *Inquiſition:* A Tribunal, againſt which the moſt innocent is not ſafe, to which the moſt virtuous Men are moſt expoſed; a Tribunal, where all the Malice, all the ſagacious Cruelty, all the Bitterneſs, and all the Fury and Falſhood of Devils are exerted, and all the Tortures of Hell are imitated and practiſed; yet this very Tribunal is ſo dear to the People, though it terrifies them, enſlaves them, and deſtroys them, that rather than part with it, they would part with all that is left them. Upon the Surrender of *Barcelona*, in the late War, the Inhabitants capitulated, that the *Inquiſition* ſhould not be taken from them: And even here in *England*, we

we may remember the Time when Men have been knocked down for ſaying that they had a Right to defend their Property by Force, when a Tyrant attempted to rob them of it againſt Law. To ſuch a Pitch of Stupidity and Diſtraction are People to be brought by thoſe who belye Almighty God, and falſify his Word to ſatiate worldly Pride; and ſuch Dupes and Furies are Men to one another!

Every thing is ſo perverted and abuſed, and the beſt Things moſt, that a very wiſe Man had but too much Reaſon to ſay, that *Truth did not ſo much Good in the World, as the Appearance and Pretence of it did Evil.* Thus the ſaving of Mens Souls is ſo univerſally underſtood to be a great and glorious Bleſſing, that for the Sake of it Men have ſuffered, and do ſuffer, the higheſt Miſery and Bondage from the Impoſtors who pretend to beſtow it, in the dark Parts of the World, which are by far the greateſt Parts of the World. And thus Civil Government is the Defence and Security of human Society; yet Dr. *Prideaux* makes it a Doubt, *whether the Benefit which the World receives from Government be ſufficient to make Amends for the Calamities which it ſuffers from the Follies, Miſtakes, and Male-Adminiſtration of thoſe that manage it.* And thus, to come Home to ourſelves, a Project to pay off the Nation's Debts was ſo tempting, ſo popular and plauſible, that almoſt every body came into it; and yet —— The Conſequences ſpeak themſelves.

The *Roman* Senate could flatter and adore a *Nero* and a *Caligula*; the *Roman* Soldiers could butcher a *Piſo* and a *Pertinax:* It is hard to ſay which were the moſt guilty, the Senate while they wor-

ſhipped Tyranny, or the Army while they deſtroyed Virtue. So prone are Men to propagate publick Deſtruction for perſonal Advantages and Security! I can never think without Horror and Trembling upon that diſmal, that bloody Maxim of *Philip* II. of *Spain*, That *he would rather be Maſter of a Kingdom ruined, miſerable, and quiet; than of a Kingdom rich, powerful, and turbulent.* In purſuance of this Maxim, he made his Kingdom a Deſart, by deſtroying and expelling the moſt induſtrious of its Inhabitants, the *Moors:* But *Philip* was very devout, and would frequently waſh a Pilgrim's Feet; that is, he was very civil and charitable to an idle religious Stroller, and a cruel Enemy to the general Happineſs of Mankind.

This puts me in mind of the Hiſtory of *John Baſilowitz*, Great Duke of *Muſcovy*. *No Hiſtory of his Time but ſpeaks of the unheard-of Cruelties exerciſed by him on all Sorts of Perſons through his whole Reign: They are ſo horrid, that never any Tyrant did the like; and yet Biſhop* Paulus Jovius *gives him the Character of a good and devout Chriſtian, though he deſerves not to be numbered even amongſt Men: It is true, he would go often to Church, ſay the Service himſelf, ſing, and be preſent at Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies, and execute the Functions of the Monks: But he abuſed both God and Man, and had no Sentiments of Humanity.* Ambaſſadors Travels, p. 73, 74.

What a Medley is here of Devotion and Cruelty in the ſame Men! Nor are theſe Examples ſingular. *Louis* XI. of *France* was a falſe, a wicked, and an oppreſſive Prince, and one of the greateſt Bigots that ever lived; and ſome of the greateſt Saints in the *Roman* Kalendar were pernicious

cious Villains, and bloody Monſters. No Sect of Bigots, when they are uppermoſt, are willing to tolerate another; and all ground their ungodly Severity upon their Zeal for Religion; though their Want of Charity is a Demonſtration that they have no Religion. It is certain, that without univerſal Charity and Forbearance, a Man cannot be a Chriſtian.

It is wonderful and affecting, to behold how the Ideas of Good and Evil are confounded! The *Turks* place great Devotion in releaſing Captive Birds from their Cages, in feeding indigent and mangey Dogs, and building Hoſpitals for them, and in paying a religious Reverence to Camels: But at the ſame Time that they thus uſe Birds and Beaſts like Men and Chriſtians, they uſe Men and Chriſtians worſe than they do Beaſts; and with them it is a lighter Offence to deny Bread to a poor Chriſtian, who is famiſhed in his Chains, than to the Dogs of the Street, which are fit for nothing but to breed Infection. They will load a poor Chriſtian with Irons, cover him with Stripes, and think that they do well and religiouſly in it; yet make it a Matter of Conſcience not to overload a Beaſt of Burthen.

In Popiſh Countries, in Caſes where Nature is left to itſelf, as much Compaſſion is ſhewn for the Diſtreſſed as in other Places: Even Thieves, Robbers, and Murderers, are accompanied to the Gallows or the Wheel with Sighs and Tears, eſpecially of the tender Sex: But when an unhappy Innocent is going to be burned, to be cruelly and ſlowly burned, for his Sincerity and Piety in ſpeaking Truth, and reading the Bible himſelf, or teaching it to others; nothing is to be ſeen but a

general Joy, nor to be heard but loud Cries of Approbation and Conſent; and all Pity, all Sympathy, is denied in an Inſtance which calls for the higheſt. Tell a *Spaniſh* Lady of a Popiſh Prieſt hanged in *England* for Sedition or Murder, ſhe inſtantly falls into Tears and Agonies: Tell her of a Kinſman of hers burned for denying Tranſubſtantiation, ſhe gives Glory to God, and feels a ſenſible Joy.

And, in Proteſtant Countries, how many Men are there, who cheat, ſtarve, and oppreſs all their Life long, to leave an Eſtate at their Death to religious Uſes? As if Men were to be Rogues for God's Sake. I have heard of a Man, who having given half of his Eſtate to mend Highways, for the Good of his Country, ſaid, that he would willingly give the other half, that *England* had never a Ship, nor a Merchant, nor a Diſſenter from the Church, belonging to it. Strange Inconſiſtency! By one Act of his, two or three Miles of Cauſeway were kept in good Repair, which was only a Kindneſs to Horſes Hoofs; by another Act of his, he would have made all *England* miſerable and deſolate!

The Hardſhips and Diſtreſſes of this Year ſhew too manifeſtly the Rogueries and Depredations of the laſt: Villainy was let looſe amongſt us, and every Man endeavoured to entrap and ruin another, to enrich himſelf. Honeſty was brow-beaten and driven into Corners; Humanity was extinguiſhed; all Friendſhip was aboliſhed; and even the Diſtinction of Kindred and Ties of Blood were diſcarded: A raging Paſſion for immoderate Gain had made Men univerſally and intenſely hard-hearted: They were every where devouring one another. And

yet

yet the Directors and their Accomplices, who were the acting Inſtruments of all this outrageous Madneſs and Miſchief, ſet up for wonderfully pious Perſons, while they were defying Almighty God, and plundering Men; and they ſet apart a Fund of Subſcriptions for charitable Uſes: That is, they mercileſly made a whole People Beggars, and charitably ſupported a few neceſſitous and worthleſs Favourites. I doubt not, but if the Villainy had gone on with Succeſs, they would have had their Names handed down to Poſterity with Encomiums; as the Names of other publick Robbers have been! We have Hiſtorians and Ode-makers now living, very proper for ſuch a Task. It is certain, that moſt People did, at one time, believe the Directors to be great and worthy Perſons: And an honeſt Country Clergyman told me laſt Summer, upon the Road, that Sir *John* was an excellent publick-ſpirited Perſon, for that he had beautified his Chancel.

Upon the Whole, we muſt not judge of one another by our fair Pretenſions and beſt Actions; ſince the worſt Men do ſome Good, and all Men make fine Profeſſions: But we muſt judge of Men by the Whole of their Conduct, and the Effects of it. Thorough Honeſty requires great and long Proof; ſince many a Man, long thought honeſt, has at length proved a Knave. And it is from judging without Proof, or too little, or falſe Proof, that Mankind continue unhappy.

G

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *June* 10, 1721. No. 32.

Reflections upon Libelling.

SIR,

I Design in this Letter to lay before the Town ſome Thoughts upon Libelling; a Sort of Writing that hurts particular Perſons, without doing Good to the Publick; and a Sort of Writing much complained of amongſt us at this Time, with great Ground, but not more than is pretended.

A Libel is not the leſs a Libel for being true. This may ſeem a Contradiction; but it is neither one in Law, or in common Senſe: There are ſome Truths not fit to be told; where, for Example, the Diſcovery of a ſmall Fault may do great Miſchief; or, where the Diſcovery of a great Fault can do no Good, there ought to be no Diſcovery at all: And to make Faults where there are none, is ſtill worſe.

But this Doctrine only holds true as to private and perſonal Failings; and it is quite otherwiſe when the Crimes of Men come to affect the Publick. Nothing ought to be ſo dear to us as our Country, and nothing ought to come in Competition with its Intereſts. Every Crime againſt the Publick is a great Crime, though there be ſome greater than others. Ignorance and Folly may be pleaded in Alleviation of private Offences; but when they come to be publick Offences, they loſe all Benefit of ſuch a Plea: We are then no longer

to

to conſider only to what Cauſes they are owing, but what Evils they may produce; and here we ſhall readily find, that Folly has overturned States, and private Ignorance been the Parent of publick Confuſion.

The expoſing therefore of publick Wickedneſs, as it is a Duty which every Man owes to Truth and his Country, can never be a Libel in the Nature of Things; and they who call it ſo, make themſelves no Compliment. He who is affronted at the reading of the Ten Commandments, would make the Decalogue a Libel, if he durſt; but he tempts us at the ſame Time to form a Judgment of his Life and Morals not at all to his Advantage: Whoever calls publick and neceſſary Truths, Libels, does but apprize us of his own Character, and arm us with Caution againſt his Deſigns. I doubt not but if the late Directors had been above the Parliament, as they once thought themſelves, they would have called the *Votes of the Houſe of Commons* againſt them, *falſe and ſcandalous Libels.*

Machiavel ſays, *Calumny is pernicious, but Accuſation beneficial, to a State*; and he ſhews Inſtances where States have ſuffered or periſhed for not having, or for neglecting, the Power to accuſe Great Men who were Criminals, or thought to be ſo; and hence grew the Temptation and Cuſtom of ſlandering and reviling, which was the only Remedy that the People had left them: So that the Evil of Calumny was owing to the Want of Juſtice, and the People were more blameleſs than thoſe whom they reviled; who, having forced them upon a Licentiouſneſs of Speech, did very unkindly chide and puniſh them for uſing it. Slander is

certainly a very baſe and mean Thing: But ſurely it cannot be more pernicious to calumniate even good Men, than not to be able to accuſe ill ones.

I have long thought, that the World are very much miſtaken in their Idea and Diſtinction of Libels. It has been hitherto generally underſtood that there were no other Libels but thoſe againſt Magiſtrates, and thoſe againſt private Men: Now, to me there ſeems to be a third Sort of Libels, full as deſtructive as any of the former can poſſibly be; I mean, Libels againſt the People. It was otherwiſe at *Athens* and *Rome*; where, though particular Men, and even Great Men, were often treated with much Freedom and Severity, when they deſerved it; yet the People, the Body of the People, were ſpoken of with the utmoſt Regard and Reverence: *The ſacred Privileges of the People*, *The inviolable Majeſty of the People*, *The awful Authority of the People*, and *The unappealable Judgment of the People*, were Phraſes common in theſe wiſe, great, and free Cities. Other Modes of Speech are ſince grown faſhionable, and popular Madneſs is now almoſt proverbial: But this Madneſs of theirs, whenever it happens, is derived from external Cauſes. *Oppreſſion*, they ſay, *will make a wiſe Man mad*; and Deluſion has not leſs Force: But where there are neither Oppreſſors nor Impoſtors, the Judgment of the People in the Buſineſs of Property, the Preſervation of which is the principal Buſineſs of Government, does rarely err. Perhaps they are deſtitute of Grimace, Myſtery, Refinements, Shrugs, Diſſimulation, and Reſerve, and the other Accompliſhments of Courtiers: But as theſe are only Masks to conceal the Abſence of Honeſty

Honeſty and Senſe, the People, who poſſeſs as they do the Subſtance, have Reaſon to deſpiſe ſuch inſipid and contemptible Shadows.

Machiavel, in the Chapter where he proves that a Multitude is wiſer and more conſtant than a Prince, complains, that the Credit which the People ſhould be in declines daily; *For*, ſays he, *every Man has Liberty to ſpeak what he pleaſes againſt them; but againſt a Prince no Man can talk without a thouſand Apprehenſions and Dangers.* I have indeed often wondered, that the inveighing againſt the Intereſt of the People, and calling their Liberties in Queſtion, as has been and is commonly done amongſt us by old Knaves and young Fools, has never been made an expreſs Crime.

I muſt own, I know not what Treaſon is, if ſapping and betraying the Liberties of a People be not Treaſon, in the eternal and original Nature of Things. Let it be remembered for whoſe Sake Government is, or could be, appointed; then let it be conſidered, who are more to be regarded, the Governors or the Governed. They indeed owe one another mutual Duties; but if there be any Tranſgreſſions committed, the Side that is moſt obliged ought doubtleſs to bear the moſt: And yet it is ſo far otherwiſe, that almoſt all over the Earth, the People, for One Injury that they do their Governors, receive Ten Thouſand from them: Nay, in ſome Countries, it is made Death and Damnation, not to bear all the Oppreſſions and Cruelties, which Men made wanton by Power inflict upon thoſe that gave it them.

The Truth is; If the People are ſuffered to keep their own, it is the moſt that they deſire: But even this is a Happineſs which in few Places falls

to their Lot; they are frequently robbed by thoſe whom they pay to protect them. I know that it is a general Charge againſt the People, that they are turbulent, reſtleſs, fickle, and unruly: Than which there can be nothing more untrue; for they are only ſo where they are made ſo. As to their being fickle, it is ſo falſe, that, on the contrary, they have almoſt ever a ſtrong Bent to received Cuſtoms, and as ſtrong a Partiality to Names and Families that they have been uſed to: And as to their being turbulent, it is as falſe; ſince there is ſcarce an Example in an Hundred Years of any People's giving Governors any Uneaſineſs, till their Governors had made them uneaſy: Nay, for the moſt part, they bear many Evils without returning One, and ſeldom throw off their Burthens ſo long as they can ſtand under them.

But intending to handle this Subject more at large in another Letter, I return more directly to the Buſineſs of Libels.

As to Libels againſt Government, like all others, they are always baſe and unlawful, and often miſchievous; eſpecially when Governments are impudently charged with Actions and Deſigns of which they are not guilty. It is certain, that we ought not to enter into the private Vices or Weakneſſes of Governors, any further than their private Vices enter into their publick Adminiſtration; and when they do, it will be impoſſible to ſtop People's Mouths: They will be provoked, and ſhew that they are ſo, in ſpite of Art and Threats, if they ſuffer Hardſhips and Woe from the private Gratifications of their Superiors, from whom they have a Right to expect Eaſe and Happineſs; and if they be diſappointed, they

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will be apt to deal very freely with their Characters.

In Truth, moſt Libels are purely perſonal; they fly at Men rather than Things: which Proceeding is as injudicious as it is unmanly. It is mean to be quarrelling with Faces, Names, and private Pleaſures; Things perfectly indifferent to the World, or Things out of a Man's own Power; and 'tis ſilly, as it ſhews thoſe whom we attack, that we attack them not for what they do, but for what they are: And this is to provoke them without mending them. All this therefore is Libelling; an Offence againſt which the Laws of almoſt every Country, and particularly of our own, have furniſhed a Remedy in proportion to the Conſequence and Quality of the Perſon offended. And it is as juſt that Reputation ſhould be defended by Law, as that Property ſhould.

The Praiſe of Well-doing is the higheſt Reward that worthy and diſintereſted Men aim at, and it is villainous and ungrateful to rob them of it; and thoſe that do it, are Libellers and Slanderers. On the other hand, while Cenſure and Infamy attend Evil-doers, it will be ſome Reſtraint, if not upon them, yet upon others, from following their Example: But if Men be ever ſuffered to do what they pleaſe without hearing of it, or being accountable for it; Liberty and Law will be loſt, though their Names may remain. And whether acting wickedly with Impunity, or ſpeaking falſly with Impunity, be likely to do moſt Hurt to human Society and the Peace of the World, I leave all the World to judge: Common Equity ſays, that they both ought to be puniſhed, though not both alike.

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All Libels, the higher they aim, the more Malignity they acquire; and therefore when they ſtrike at the Perſon of the Prince, the Meaſure of their Guilt is complete. The Office of a Prince is to defend his People and their Properties; an excellent and a painful Office; which, where it is executed with Honeſty and Diligence, deſerves the higheſt Applauſe and Reward; and whoever vilifies and traduces him, is an Enemy to Society and to Mankind, and will be puniſhed with the Conſent of all who love either. And yet it is ſcarce poſſible, in a free Country, to puniſh by a general Law any Libel ſo much as it deſerves; ſince ſuch a Law, conſiſting of ſo many Branches, and being of ſuch vaſt Latitude, would make all Writing whatſoever, how innocent ſoever, and even all Speaking, unſafe. Hence it is that in *Turkey*, though Printing were permitted, it would be of no Uſe, becauſe no body would dare to make any Uſe of it.

As long as there are ſuch Things as Printing and Writing, there will be Libels: It is an Evil ariſing out of a much greater Good. And as to thoſe who are for locking up the Preſs, becauſe it produces Monſters, they ought to conſider that ſo do the Sun and the *Nile*; and that it is ſomething better for the World to bear ſome particular Inconveniencies ariſing from general Bleſſings, than to be wholly deprived of Fire and Water.

Of all Sorts of Libels, ſcurrilous ones are certainly the moſt harmleſs and contemptible: Even Truth ſuffers by Ill-Manners; and Ill-Manners prevent the Effect of Lyes. The Letter in the *Saturday's Poſt* of the 27th paſt does, I think, exceed all the Scurrilities which I have either heard,

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or ſeen, from the Preſs or the Pulpit. The Author of it muſt ſurely be mad: He talks as if Diſtraction were in his Head, and a Firebrand in his Hand; and nothing can be more falſe, than the Inſinuations which he makes, and the ugly Reſemblances which he would draw. The Paper is a Heap of Falſhood and Treaſon, delivered in the Style and Spirit of *Billingſgate*; and indeed moſt of the Enemies to his Majeſty's Perſon, Title, and Government, have got the Faculty of Writing and Talking, as if they had their Education in that Quarter.

However, as bad as that Letter is, (and, I think, there cannot be a worſe) Occaſion will never be taken from ſcurrilous and traiterous Writing, to deſtroy the End of Writing. We know that in all Times there have been Men lying upon the Watch to ſtifle Liberty, under a Pretence of ſuppreſſing Libels; like the late King *James*, who, having Occaſion for an Army to ſuppreſs *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, would needs keep it up afterwards; becauſe, forſooth, other Rebellions might happen, for which he was reſolved to give Cauſe.

I muſt own, that I would rather many Libels ſhould eſcape, than the Liberty of the Preſs ſhould be infringed; yet no Man in *England* thinks worſe of Libels than I do; eſpecially of ſuch as bid open Defiance to the preſent Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment.

Corrupt Men, who have given Occaſion for Reproach, by their baſe and dark Practices with the late Directors, being afraid of Truths that affect them from the Preſs, may be deſirous of ſhutting it up: But honeſt Men, with clear Reputations,

rival himſelf, and every Day's Wickedneſs was blacker than another.

Yet *Nero* was not the worſt of all Men: There have been Thouſands as bad as he, and only wanted the ſame Opportunity to ſhew it. And there actually have been many Princes in the World, who have ſhed more Blood, and done more Miſchief to Mankind, than *Nero* did. I could inſtance in a late One, who deſtroyed more Lives than ever *Nero* deſtroyed, perhaps an Hundred to One. 'It makes no Difference, that *Nero* committed Butcheries out of Cruelty, and the other only for his Glory: However the World may be deceived by the Change of Names into an Abhorrence of the One, and an Admiration of the Other; it is all one to a Nation, when they are to be ſlaughtered, whether they be ſlaughtered by the Hangman or by Dragoons, in Priſon or in the Field; nor is Ambition better than Cruelty, when it begets Miſchief as great.

It is nothing ſtrange, that Men, who think themſelves unaccountable, ſhould act unaccountably, and that all Men would be unaccountable if they could: Even thoſe who have done nothing to diſpleaſe, do not know but ſome time or other they may; and no Man cares to be at the entire Mercy of another. Hence it is, that if every Man had his Will, all Men would exerciſe Dominion, and no Man would ſuffer it. It is therefore owing more to the Neceſſities of Men, than to their Inclinations, that they have put themſelves under the Reſtraint of Laws, and appointed certain Perſons, called Magiſtrates, to execute them; otherwiſe they would never be executed, ſcarce any Man having ſuch a Degree of Virtue as willingly to execute

ecute the Laws upon himſelf; but, on the contrary, moſt Men thinking them a Grievance, when they come to meddle with themſelves and their Property. *Suarum legum auctor & everſor*, was the Character of *Pompey:* He made Laws when they ſuited his Occaſions, and broke them when they thwarted his Will. And it is the Character of almoſt every Man poſſeſſed of *Pompey*'s Power: They intend them for a Security to themſelves, and for a Terror to others. This ſhews the Diſtruſt that Men have of Men; and this made a great Philoſopher call the *State of Nature, a State of War*; which Definition is true in a reſtrained Senſe, ſince human Societies and human Laws are the Effect of Neceſſity and Experience: Whereas were all Men left to the boundleſs Liberty which they claim from Nature, every Man would be interfering and quarrelling with another; every Man would be plundering the Acquiſitions of another; the Labour of one Man would be the Property of another; Weakneſs would be the Prey of Force; and one Man's Induſtry would be the Cauſe of another Man's Idleneſs.

Hence grew the Neceſſity of Government; which was the mutual Contract of a Number of Men, agreeing upon certain Terms of Union and Society, and putting themſelves under Penalties, if they violated theſe Terms, which were called Laws, and put into the Hands of one or more Men to execute. And thus Men quitted Part of their Natural Liberty to acquire Civil Security. But frequently the Remedy proved worſe than the Diſeaſe; and human Society had often no Enemies ſo great as their own Magiſtrates; who, where-ever they were truſted with too much Power, always

always abuſed it, and grew miſchievous to thoſe who made them what they were. *Rome*, while ſhe was free (that is, while ſhe kept her Magiſtrates within due Bounds) could defend herſelf againſt all the World, and conquer it: But being enſlaved (that is, her Magiſtrates having broke their Bounds) ſhe could not defend herſelf againſt her own ſingle Tyrants, nor could they defend her againſt her foreign Foes and Invaders; for by their Madneſs and Cruelties they had deſtroyed her Virtue and Spirit, and exhauſted her Strength. This ſhews that thoſe Magiſtrates that are at abſolute Defiance with a Nation, either cannot ſubſiſt long, or will not ſuffer the Nation to ſubſiſt long; and that mighty Traytors, rather than fall themſelves, will pull down their Country.

What a dreadful Spirit muſt that Man poſſeſs, who can put a private Appetite in balance againſt the univerſal Good of his Country, and of Mankind! *Alexander* and *Cæſar* were that Sort of Men; they would ſet the World on fire, and ſpill its Blood, rather than not govern it. *Caligula* knew that he was hated, and deſerved to be hated; but it did not mend him. *Oderint dum metuant*, was his By-word: All that the Monſter aimed at, was to be great and terrible. Moſt of theſe Tyrants died as became them; and, as they had reigned, by Violence: But that did not mend their Succeſſors, who generally earned the Fate of thoſe that went before them, before they were warm in their Place. *Invenit etiam æmulos infelix nequitia: Quid ſi floreat vigeatque?* "If unfortunate Villainy thus "find Rivals, what ſhall we ſay, when it exalts "its Head and proſpers?

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There is no Evil under the Sun but what is to be dreaded from Men, who may do what they pleaſe with Impunity: They ſeldom or never ſtop at certain Degrees of Miſchief, when they have Power to go farther; but hurry on from Wickedneſs to Wickedneſs, as far and as faſt as human Malice can prompt human Power. *Ubi ſemel recto deerratum eſt, in præceps pervenitur ——— a rectis in vitia, a vitiis in prava, a pravis in præcipitia*, ſays a *Roman* Hiſtorian; who in this ſpeaks the Truth, though in other Inſtances he tells many Lyes; I mean that baſe Flatterer of Power, *Velleius Paterculus*. So that when we ſee any great Miſchief committed with Safety, we may juſtly apprehend Miſchiefs ſtill greater.

The World is governed by Men, and Men by their Paſſions; which, being boundleſs and inſatiable, are always terrible when they are not controuled. Who was ever ſatiated with Riches, or ſurfeited with Power, or tired with Honours? There is a Tradition concerning *Alexander*, that having penetrated to the Eaſtern Ocean, and ravaged as much of this World as he knew, he wept that there was never another World for him to conquer. This, whether true or no, ſhews the Spirit of the Man, and indeed of human Nature, whoſe Appetites are infinite.

People are ruined by their Ignorance of human Nature; which Ignorance leads them to Credulity, and too great a Confidence in particular Men. They fondly imagine that he, who, poſſeſſing a great deal by their Favour, owes them great Gratitude, and all good Offices, will therefore return their Kindneſs: But, alas! how often are they miſtaken in their Favourites and Truſtees; who, the

the more they have given them, are often the more incited to take All, and to return Deſtruction for generous Uſage. The common People generally think that great Men have great Minds, and ſcorn baſe Actions; which Judgment is ſo falſe, that the baſeſt and worſt of all Actions have been done by great Men: Perhaps they have not picked private Pockets, but they have done worſe; they have often diſturbed, deceived, and pillaged the World: And he who is capable of the higheſt Miſchief, is capable of the meaneſt: He who plunders a Country of a Million of Money, would in ſuitable Circumſtances ſteal a Silver Spoon; and a Conqueror, who ſteals and pillages a Kingdom, would, in an humbler Fortune, rifle a Portmanteau, or rob an Orchard.

Political Jealouſy, therefore, in the People, is a neceſſary and laudable Paſſion. But in a Chief Magiſtrate, a Jealouſy of his People is not ſo juſtifiable, their Ambition being only to preſerve themſelves; whereas it is natural for Power to be ſtriveing to enlarge itſelf, and to be encroaching upon thoſe that have none. The moſt laudable Jealouſy of a Magiſtrate is to be jealous *for* his People; which will ſhew that he loves them, and has uſed them well: But to be jealous *of* them, would denote that he has evil Deſigns againſt them, and has uſed them ill. The People's Jealouſy tends to preſerve Liberty; and the Prince's to deſtroy it. *Venice* is a glorious Inſtance of the former, and ſo is *England*; and all Nations who have loſt their Liberty, are melancholy Proofs of the latter.

Power is naturally active, vigilant, and diſtruſtful; which Qualities in it puſh it upon all Means and Expedients to fortify itſelf, and upon deſtroy-

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ing all Oppoſition, and even all Seeds of Oppoſition, and make it reſtleſs as long as any thing ſtands in its Way. It would do what it pleaſes, and have no Check. Now, becauſe Liberty chaſtiſes and ſhortens Power, therefore Power would extinguiſh Liberty; and conſequently Liberty has too much Cauſe to be exceeding jealous, and always upon her Defence. Power has many Advantages over her; it has generally numerous Guards, many Creatures, and much Treaſure; beſides, it has more Craft and Experience, leſs Honeſty and Innocence: And whereas Power can, and for the moſt part does, ſubſiſt where Liberty is not, Liberty cannot ſubſiſt without Power; ſo that ſhe has, as it were, the Enemy always at her Gates.

Some have ſaid, that Magiſtrates being accountable to none but God, ought to know no other Reſtraint. But this Reaſoning is as frivolous as it is wicked; for no good Man cares how many Puniſhments and Penalties lie in his Way to an Offence which he does not intend to commit: A Man who does not mean to commit Murder, is not ſorry that Murder is puniſhed with Death. And as to wicked Men, their being accountable to God, whom they do not fear, is no Security to us againſt their Folly and Malice; and to ſay that we ought to have no Security againſt them, is to inſult common Senſe, and give the Lye to the firſt Law of Nature, that of Self-Preſervation. Human Reaſon ſays, that there is no Obedience, no Regard due to thoſe Rulers, who govern by no Rule but their Luſt. Such Men are no Rulers; they are Outlaws; who, being at Defiance with God and Man, are protected by no Law of God,

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or of Reaſon. By what Precept, moral or divine, are we forbid to kill a Wolf, or burn an infected Ship? Is it unlawful to prevent Wickedneſs and Miſery, and to reſiſt the Authors of them? Are Crimes ſanctified by their Greatneſs? And is he who robs a Country, and murders Ten Thouſand, leſs a Criminal, than he who ſteals ſingle Guineas, and takes away ſingle Lives? Is there any Sin in preventing, and reſtraining, or reſiſting the greateſt Sin that can be committed, that of oppreſſing and deſtroying Mankind by wholeſale? Sure there never were ſuch open, ſuch ſhameleſs, ſuch ſelfiſh Impoſtors, as the Advocates for lawleſs Power! It is a damnable Sin to oppreſs Them; yet it is a damnable Sin to oppoſe Them when They oppreſs, or gain by the Oppreſſion of others! When they are hurt themſelves ever ſo little, or but think themſelves hurt, they are the loudeſt of all Men in their Complaints, and the moſt outrageous in their Behaviour: But when others are plundered, oppreſſed, and butchered, Complaints are Sedition; and to ſeek Redreſs, is Damnation. Is not this to be the Authors of all Wickedneſs and Falſhood?

To conclude: Power, without Countroul, appertains to God alone; and no Man ought to be truſted with what no Man is equal to. In Truth, there are ſo many Paſſions, and Inconſiſtencies, and ſo much Selfiſhneſs, belonging to human Nature, that we can ſcarce be too much upon our Guard againſt each other. The only Security which we can have that Men will be honeſt, is to make it their Intereſt to be honeſt; and the beſt Defence which we can have againſt their being Knaves, is to make it terrible to them to be Knaves.

Knaves. As there are many Men wicked in ſome Stations, who would be innocent in others; the beſt Way is to make Wickedneſs unſafe in any Station.

I am, &c.

P. S. This Letter is the Sequel of that upon Human Nature; and both are intended for an Introduction to a Paper which I intend to write upon the Reſtraints which all wiſe Nations put upon their Magiſtrates.

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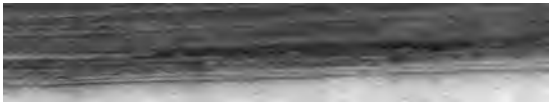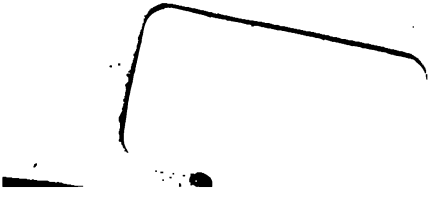
The End of the FIRST VOLUME.